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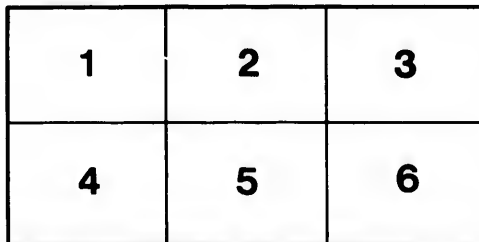
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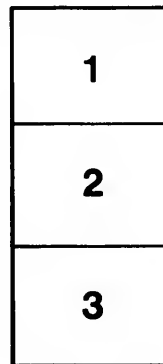
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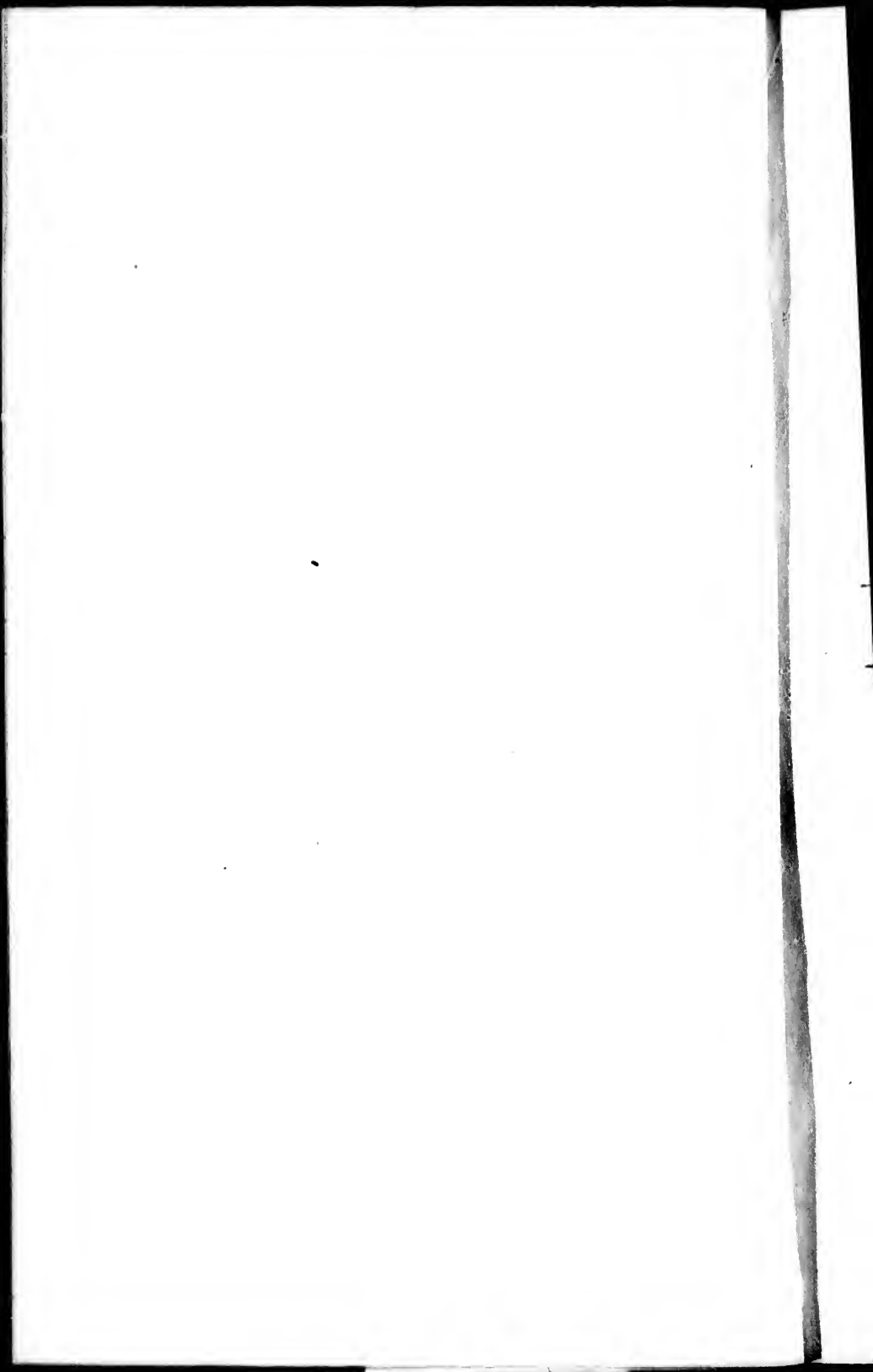


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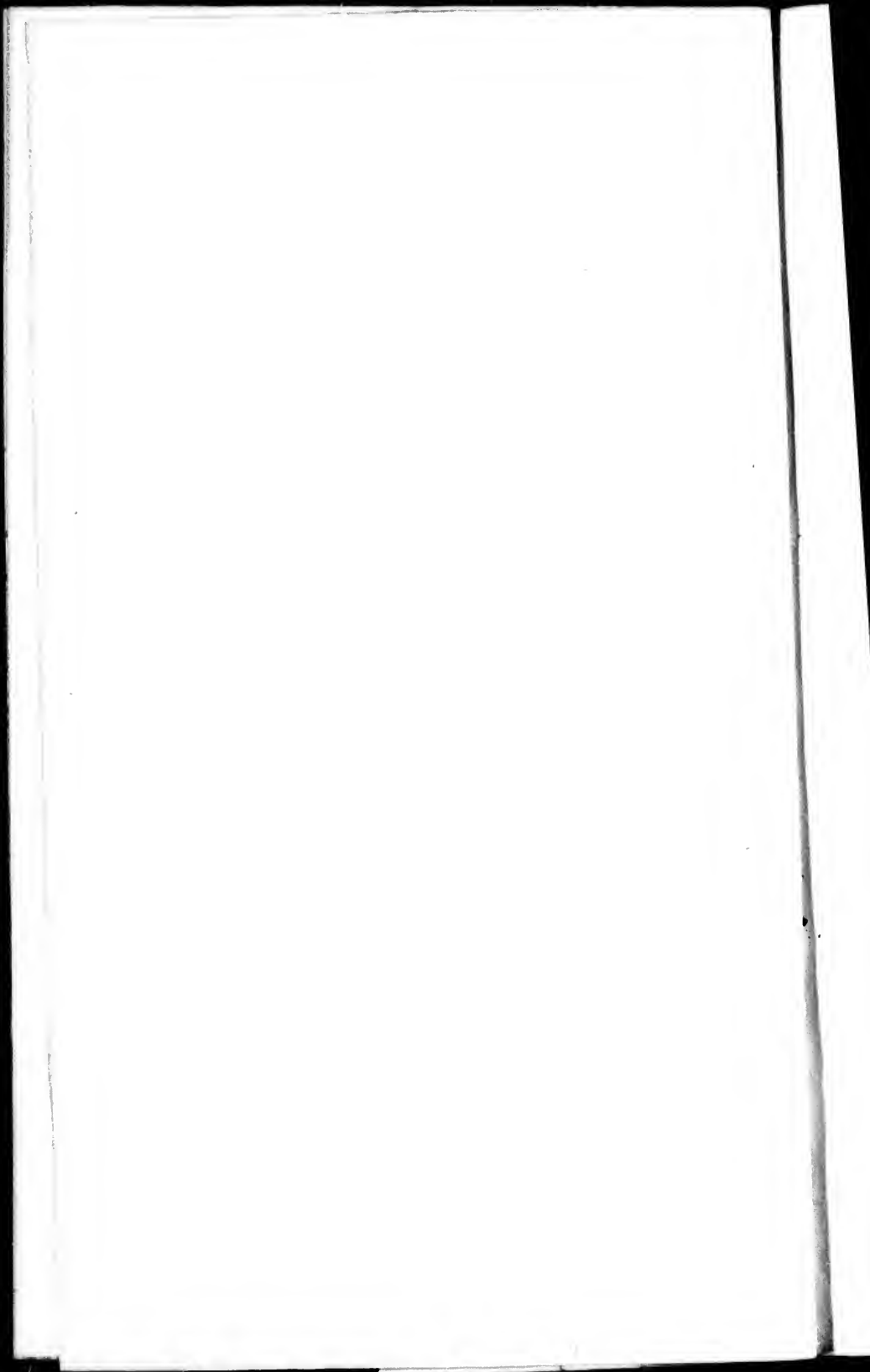
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**THE HISTORY OF LOUISIANA.**

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
LOUISIANA,  
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD.

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BY FRANÇOIS-XAVIER MARTIN.

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*Hæc igitur formam crescendo mutat, et olim  
Immensi caput orbis erit. Sic dicere vates.  
Ovid. Metam. xv. 434 & 435.*

VOLUME I.

~~— 226 —~~

**New-Orleans:**

PRINTED BY LYMAN AND BEARDSLEE.

.....  
1827.

202.



*Eastern District of Louisiana, ss.*

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the Seventh day of June, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States the Fifty-first, FRANCOIS-XAVIER MARTIN, of the said district, hath deposited in the Clerk's office for the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District of Louisiana, the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as Proprietor and Publisher: *to wit*—

"The History of Louisiana, from the earliest period. By Francois-Xavier Martin.

*Hæc igitur formam crescendo mutat, et olim  
Immensi vixit orbis erit. Sic dicere vale.*  
Ovid. *Metam.* xv. 434 & 435."

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*Eastern District of Louisiana.*

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## PREFACE.

THE country, covered by the state of Louisiana, was within the short span of a century and a half, exclusively occupied by savages and wild beasts. A knowledge of the means, used by providence, in substituting to these the vassals of the monarchs of France and Spain, and finally to the latter, the race of freemen by whom the state is rapidly to be brought to the acmé of political felicity, cannot be a matter of indifference to any contemplative mind, and must be ardently sought after by her youthful citizens. To exhibit those means to them, is the object of this work; for the writer had not the vanity to believe he had ought to impart to those of mature years.

WHAT theme, indeed, can be more interesting to a young Louisianian, than the contemplation of his more remote progenitors, a handful of men, left on the sandy shore of Biloxi, harrassed during the day by the inroads, disturbed at night by the yells, of hovering Indians—to mark the incipient state of civil government, under the authority of the crown, the tardy progress of agriculture and trade, under the monopolies of Crozat and the western company, the

massacre of the French among the Natchez, the destruction of that nation and the subsequent war with the Chickasaws—to notice the slow advances of the colony, after the crown resumed its government, the cession to Spain and the languishing state of his country, while a colony of that kingdom—afterwards to behold the dawn of liberty on his natal soil, under the territorial government of the United States, and finally, the rise of Louisiana to the rank of a sovereign state!

A VERY jejune performance would have been produced, if the work had been confined to events, of which the tract of country, now occupied by the state, was the theatre. The discovery of the northeast shore of the gulf of Mexico, the traverse of Florida by a Spanish army under Soto, and the abortive attempt of the French at colonization in Caroline, are events too intimately connected with the history of Louisiana to have remained unnoticed.

MUCH would have been left to be desired, if the work had abruptly begun at the landing of the colonists, brought over by Iberville. The settlement of Canada, through which the French discovered the Mississippi, the descent of that stream by Lasalle, his fruitless efforts to plant a colony on its shores, are also events the knowledge of which is necessary to a correct understanding of those which followed, in Louisiana.

IT has likewise been thought proper to notice, in

a chronological order, the settlement of each of the English provinces, which afterwards formed the confederacy of North America, with that of the colonies which the Dutch and Swedes planted in their neighbourhood.

THE attention of the reader has, at times, necessarily been drawn to transactions on the opposite side of the Atlantic. A colony is always more or less affected by the wars, in which the mother country is engaged. Accordingly, hostilities between France, Spain and England, with the treaties by which they were terminated, have been related: and for a reason nearly similar, the mutations of the crown in these kingdoms are stated.

THE writer has availed himself of every publication of merit, that has any relation to the country the history of which he now presents, and he has found in the archives of the state many important documents.

HE has to lament that, although for almost a score of years, his attention has been given to the collection of materials, public duties have prevented his bestowing much time on the revision and correction of what he has written. Age has crept on him, and the decay of his constitution has given more than one warning, that if the sheets now committed to the press were longer withheld, the work would probably be a posthumous one.

As he does not write in his vernacular tongue, elegance of style is beyond his hope, and consequently without the scope of his ambition.

GENTILLY, near New Orleans, June 20th, 1827.

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HISTORY  
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PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.

*Topographical view of the State of Louisiana.*

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LOUISIANA, admitted into the confederacy of the United States of America, on the thirtieth of April, 1812, is the southwesternmost state.

It lies from about the twenty-ninth to the thirty-fourth degree of north latitude and between the eighty-ninth and ninety-fifth degree and thirty minutes west longitude from Greenwich.

Its limits are fixed in the preamble of its constitution, and an act of its legislature of the twelfth of August, 1812.

The southern limit is the gulf of Mexico, from Pearl to Sabine river.

The western separates the state, and the United States, from the Spanish province of Texas. It begins on the gulf, at the mouth of the Sabine, and follows a line drawn along the middle of that stream, so as to include all islands to the thirty-second degree of north latitude and thence due north to the thirty-third degree.

The northern separates the state, on the western bank of the Mississippi from the territory of Arkansas, and on the eastern from the state of Mississippi.

The line begins on the point at which the western limit terminates, and runs along the northern part of the thirty-third degree, to a point in that parallel, in the middle of the Mississippi river: on the western side, it begins at a point in the middle of the river in the northern part of the thirty-first degree and runs on that parallel to the eastern branch of Pearl river.

The eastern separates, in its whole length, the states of Louisiana and Mississippi. It is a line drawn in the middle of the Mississippi river between the two points, already mentioned, and another drawn from the eastern termination of the north boundary on Pearl river, running along the middle of that stream to its mouth in the estuary, which connects lake Pontchartrain with the gulf.

The area, within these limits, is a superficies of about forty-eight thousand square miles: Louisiana being, in extent equal to North Carolina, and superior to every other state in the union, except Virginia, Missouri, Georgia and Illinois.

The population to the square mile is three persons; equal to that of Alabama and Indiana, and inferior to that of every other state, except Illinois and Missouri.

The aggregate population is of one hundred and forty-six thousand persons: inferior to those of every state except Alabama, Rhode Island, Delaware, Mississippi, Missouri and Illinois: considerably below the one half of the averaged population of the states, which is about four hundred thousand.

The free population is of eighty thousand one hundred and eighty three persons; of which seventy thousand four hundred and seventy-three are white, and nine thousand seven hundred and ten coloured.

Agriculture employs fifty thousand one hundred and sixty-eight, and manufactures five thousand seven

hundred and ninety-seven. The number of foreigners not naturalised is three thousand and sixty-two.

Although Louisiana lies between the twenty-eighth and thirty-fourth degrees of north latitude, its temperature widely differs from that of the countries, lying between the same parallels in the old world; the Cape de Verd islands and the southern parts of Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis. Morocco, Egypt, Arabia Felix, Persia, China and Japan.

We must ascend the Mediterranean, to reach a country in which the degree of cold, which is felt in Louisiana, is experienced, and descend about ten degrees towards the equator to find a country in which the heat felt in Louisiana, prevails,

Cold is seldom so intense in the city of Nice, or Savoy, nor heat greater in Havana, than in New Orleans, which lies within the thirtieth degree of northern latitude, and is consequently never approached by the sun, in his zenith, nearer than six degrees and a half; for the variety of temperature, observable as the result of other circumstances than the relative proximity to the equinoctial line, is no where more obvious than in Louisiana. In New Orleans, during the months of June, July and August, the thermometer rises to the ninety-eighth and even the hundredth degree of Farenheit's scale; which is the greatest degree of heat of the human body, when in health. In winter it sometimes falls to seventeen: and Ulloa relates that he has seen the Mississippi frozen, before New Orleans, for several yards from the shore. The variations in the thermometer are frequent and sudden: it falls and rises within a few hours, from ten to twenty-four degrees.

Summer is the longest season: it continues for five months, besides many hot days in March and April,



October and November. In June and July heat is diminished, by eastern breezes and abundant rains; the hottest days are in August. In this month, and the first part of September, heat is less supportable than in the West Indies, from the absence of the eastern breeze.

The principal causes of heat, in New Orleans and its vicinity are, the equality of the soil, the great timber with which the neighbouring country is covered, and the feebleness of the wind, which does not allow it to penetrate the inhabited parts of the country: add to this, the distance from the sea, which prevents the wind, that reigns there, from reaching the city, in which the air is commonly still during the hot months. If the wind comes from the north, it reaches New Orleans, after passing over a vast extent of plains and woods, loading itself with their hot vapour.

Heat, intense as it is, does not seem as in other countries, to concentrate itself in the earth and warm it to a certain depth; on the contrary, the water of the Mississippi, taken from the surface, is warm and from below, cold. This demonstrates that the heat, which prevails in the country, does not penetrate below, and is accidental, generated by the absence of wind, or the action of the sun on woods, marshes and swamps.

The effect of great heats is felt in a manner not common elsewhere. In walking, after the setting of the sun, one passes suddenly into a much hotter atmosphere, than that which preceded, and after twenty or thirty steps, the cooler air is felt: as if the country was divided into bands or zones of different temperatures. In the space of an hour, three or four of these sudden transitions are perceptible.

This is not easily accounted for. It results probably from the burning of the woods, which takes place

after gathering the crop, and is one of the ordinary causes of heat in the air, in the direction of the fire. The land being equal in quality and form, it cannot be imagined that the rays of the sun are more fixed in one spot, than another. It is likely that some of the columns of air, considered horizontally, remain unmoved since the setting of the sun, and thus preserve the heat it communicated; while others, set in motion by a light or variable wind, lose theirs. These mutations are perceived when there is no wind.

In the fall, which is the most pleasant season in Louisiana, and often prolongs itself during the first winter months, the sky is remarkably serene; especially, when the wind is northerly. In October, the thermometer frequently rises to the seventy-eighth degree, which is the greatest heat in Spain.

In a country, in which the heat of summer is so great and so long, it might not be presumed that the cold of winter should be, at times, so severe as experience shews. Sharp frosts have occurred as early as November, but their duration, at this period, is extremely short. In the latter part of December, in January and the first part of February, the mercury has been known to fall many degrees below the freezing point. But cold days are rare in Louisiana, even in winter. In this season, heat succeeds to cold with such rapidity, that after three days of hard frost, as many generally follow, in which the average heat of summer prevails.

Spring is an extremely short season. A Louisianian is hardly sensible of its presence, when the suffocating air of summer is felt, for a while, and then winter days return.

The winds are generally erratic and changeable, blowing within a short space of time, from every point

of the compass without regularity, and seldom two successive days from any one.

In July, August and September, there are frequent squalls, with much rain, thunder and lightning, and sometimes gales of wind from the south and south west.

From the middle of October to April, the northern wind prevails and sometimes blows very hard : when it changes to the eastward or southward, it is commonly attended with close hazy or foggy weather.

In April, May and the first part of June, sea and land breezes prevail and refresh the air.

The south and southwest winds bring rain in winter; when they cease, the northwest wind prevails, and cold weather begins. When it continues, and its strength increases, it infallibly freezes. When the wind passes from east to west, without stopping, cold is neither great nor lasting; for the wind passes promptly to the east and from thence to south and southwest, and the rain begins.

The north and northwest winds are those which bring cold and hard frost in winter, and a suffocating heat in summer.

The cause of the cold they bring is the same in Louisiana, as in all the eastern parts of North America. The immense extent of country, covered with snow over which they pass, probably from the pole; while, on the opposite side of the Atlantic, the continents of Europe and Asia end in the seventy-fifth degree of latitude, and are separated from the pole, by a vast expanse of sea. But there cannot be any other cause of the heat they bring than the large plains, thick woods and wide pieces of water, which they cross; the humidity of which, acted upon by the intense heat of the sun, gives rise to ardent vapours, the heat of

which being communicated to the air, instead of cooling, renders it more suffocating than in calm weather.

Ulloa noticed in Louisiana a particularity, which he says is not observed elsewhere. At certain times, when rains are abundant, a yellow, thick coat, resembling brimstone appears floating on puddles and the big vats or butts, in which rain water is collected and preserved: it is gathered in abundance along the brims of these receptacles. The atmosphere, he observes, is loaded with sulphureous particles, as is evinced by frequent tempests; it being rare that rain should not be accompanied by violent thunder. This, he concludes, experience demonstrates to proceed from thick woods, filled with resinous trees, the subtle parts of which are exhaled, and mixing with the sulphureous parts of the atmosphere, unite with them, and are together precipitated with the clouds that bring down the tempest. This sulphureous substance is so abundant and ordinary, and at times so much more perceptible than at others, that this circumstance has given rise to the popular error that a rain of sulphur falls.

Before we proceed to take a view of the face of the country, the gulf on which the state is situated, and the mighty stream which traverses it, attract our attention.

The gulf of Mexico may be considered as a great whirlpool. The general course of the waters, in the Atlantic ocean, as well as the current of the air, within and near the middle zone, being from east to west, the force of the sea comes upon the West India islands and their lengths are in that direction. When the waters get into the great gulf, they are obstructed

every where, and as it were turned round by the land. The great velocity of this body of water is towards the equator, and it must get out, where it meets with the least resistance, that is on the side towards the pole, where it forms the strong current, or passage, called the gulf stream.

The natural course of the waters therefore, on the northern part of the gulf, should be from west to east: but it is partially changed, by frequent currents which are very unequal, depending certainly on the winds, but seldom on that which blows on the spot.

By the general law of the tides, there should be flood for six hours and ebb during the six following. But here, an ebb will continue for eighteen or twenty hours, and a flood during six or four only, and *vice versa*.

A southern wind always raises and keeps the waters up in the bays, and a northern almost entirely empties them. Yet, it must be allowed that these ebbs and flows are not equable in their continuance. Upon an accurate observation of them, we discover a tendency to two ebbs and flows in twenty-four hours, though they be overpowered by the winds and currents.

The entrance of the bays and rivers on the gulf is defended generally by a shallow sand bank, forming a bar farther out towards the sea than is usual elsewhere. The depth on the bar is not at all proportioned to that within. The mouths of the rivers are frequently divided into different channels, by swamps covered with reeds, owing probably to the conflict between the currents and the rise of the river, in certain seasons of the year.

The water of the gulf is not much heavier than the common. An aerometer, immersible in common water with a weight of two ounces and twenty two grains

was found so in that of the gulf, with one of two ounces and fifty three grains, according to an experience by Father Laval, at the distance of ninety leagues from the coast. Fifty leagues inside of the mediterranean, on the coast of Spain, near Almeria, the same instrument floated on sea water with a weight, less than two ounces and sixty six grains. The reason of this difference, he concluded was, that larger rivers flow into the gulf, especially the Mississippi, bringing into it a greater quantity of fresh water than those which flow into the mediterranean.

The Mississippi is remarkable by its great length, uncommon depth, and the muddiness and salubrity of its waters, after its junction with the Missouri.

The source of this mighty river is supposed to be about three thousand miles from the gulf.

From the falls of St. Anthony, it glides with a pleasant and clear stream, and becomes comparatively narrow before it reaches the Missouri, the muddy waters of which discolour those of the Mississippi to the sea.

Its rapidity, breadth and other peculiarities, now give it the majestic appearance of the Missouri, which affords a more extensive navigation, and is a longer, broader and deeper river, which has been ascended near three thousand miles, and preserves its width and depth to that distance.

From their junction to nearly opposite the Ohio, the western bank of the Mississippi (with the exception of a few places) is the highest, thence to bayou Manshac, it is the lowest, and has not the least discernable rising or eminence for seven hundred and fifty miles. Thence to the sea, there is not any eminence on either bank, but the eastern appears a little the highest, as far as the English turn, from whence both

gradually decline to the gulf, where they are not more than two or three feet higher than the common surface of the water.

The direction of the channel is so crooked, from the mouth of the Ohio to New Orleans, that the distance is eight hundred and fifty-six miles by water, and four hundred and fifty only by land.

The water of the Mississippi appears foul, turbid and unwholesome, but in reality it is not so. It is so loaded with mud, that being put in a vase, it yields a sediment; and the sight of a quantity of earthly particles is offensive. In the highest floods, it unroots and carries with it large trunks of trees to a great distance: some covered with verdure, others dry and rotten. This abundance of sound and decayed timber cannot fail to impart some of their substance to the element on which it floats. Yet the mixture is not perceptible, and experience has shewn that the water is wholesome.

The river receives a number of other streams, the waters of some of which are saltish and impregnated with metallic particles: but the water of the main river predominates so much over those of the tributary branches, that it preserves its salubrity.

During the summer, while the Mississippi is low, the water is clear, but not so good as at its flood. That of the sea then ascends to a great distance and affects that of the river, without rendering it unwholesome. The latter is then warm on the surface, but preserves its coolness below.

Although it is so loaded with dirt, yet it does not generate the stone. It being supposed that, however clarified it may be, it still continues to contain some earthy particles. In many families, a number of jars are used, in order to give time to the water to yield its deposit, and the oldest is used. After having thus

remained for a long time, even for a year, if a portion of the water be taken in a glass, not the least extraneous particle can be discovered, but it appears as diaphanous as crystal; yet if it remain one or two days, there will be seen at the bottom a subtle earth resembling soap. A coat of this is seen floating in the large jars, in which the water is put to settle. Common people, especially those who navigate the Mississippi, use its water in the most turbid state: and although they do so, while they are weary and sweating, there is no example of its having proved hurtful.

The coolness of the water may be attributed to the northern clime, in which the river has its source, and the great quantity of snow which it receives, or in which it is said to originate, and the ice it brings down from the vast plains west to north, as far as the forty-fifth degree. In this long course, it carries away a prodigious quantity of earthly particles, which, being kept constantly in motion, are so subtilized, that viewed in a glass, they appear like a smoke, filling its capacity. This great subtility is doubtless what communicates to the water, that wholesome quality, which facilitates digestion, excites appetite and maintains health, without producing any of the inconveniences, which other waters occasion.

The Mississippi rises at its flood higher than the neighbouring land, and inundates it, where it is not protected by an artificial bank or levée. Although the river be deep and wide, its ravages, before it was confined by such banks, on the contiguous fields was not very great, owing to the profundity of its bed, which occasions the great strength of its current to be below, where the rapidity and weight of the water unite.

The water that escapes over the levees, or oozes through them, joined to that which flows in places that



are unprotected, as well as the rain water, never returns into the river, but fills the vast cypress swamps beyond the tillable land, and finally find their way into these lakes, on both sides of the stream, in the vicinity of the sea. The declivity of the land on the eastern side towards lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, shews that the earth which the water of the Mississippi deposited, formed, in course of time, the island, on which the city of New Orleans stands.

It is clear that the bed of the river rises in the same proportion as its banks. This is manifested by the constant necessity there is of raising the levees.

At the mouth of the river, there is also some evidence that its bed rises. About the year 1722, there were twenty five feet of water on the bar: Ulloa found twenty in 1767, at the highest flood, and now in 1826 there are sixteen; while the depth within has ever remained the same. It is possible that the bar, at the different mouths of the river, may have risen, while the bottom of the bed within may have remained unaltered. But the mass of water, which passes through these mouths, being the same as formerly, it follows that its force against the waves of the sea is not altered, and no good reason can appear why the sea should retain the sand to a higher level than before on the bank. It is much more natural to conclude that the bed of the river has risen, whereby its mouths are widened and it meets the waves of the sea with less force, than when it came through deeper and narrower channels.

The strength and rapidity of the current are such in high water, that before steam was used in propelling boats, it could not be stemmed without much labour and waste of time; although the sturdy navigators were greatly aided by eddies or countercurrents, which every where run in the bends, close to the shore.

The current in high water descends at the rate of five and even six miles an hour, and in low water at the rate of two only. It is much more rapid in those places, where shoals, battures or clusters of islands narrow the bed of the river: the circumference of these shoals or battures is in some places of several miles: and they render the voyage longer and more dangerous, at low water.

The many beaches and breakers which have risen out of the channel, are convincing proofs that the land on both sides form the high ground near Baton Rouge is alluvial. The bars that cross most of the channels, opened by the current, have been multiplied by the means of trees brought down by the stream. One of them, stopped by its roots or branches, in a shallow place, is sufficient to obstruct the passage of a thousand, and to fix them near it. Such collections of trees are daily seen between the Balize and the Mississippi, which singly would supply a city with fuel for several years. No human force being adequate to their removal, the mud brought down by the water cements and binds them together, they are gradually covered, and every inundation not only extends their lengths and widths, but adds another layer to their heights. In less than ten years, canes and shrubs grow on them and form points and islands, which forcibly shift the bed of the river.

The Mississippi discharges itself into the gulf by several mouths or passes of different lengths. The east pass, which is that principally used, is the shortest, being twenty miles in length; the south pass is twenty-two, and the southwest twenty-five.

The bars that obstruct these passes are subject to change; but, immediately on entering the river there are from three to seven, eight and ten fathoms, as far as the southwest pass, and thence twelve, fifteen, twen-

ty and thirty fathoms, which is the general depth to the mouth of the Missouri. The depth of water over the bar of the first pass is sixteen feet; over those of the other two there are from eight to nine or ten feet.

The shoals about the mouth of the Mississippi, like those in its bed, have been formed by the trees, mud leaves and other matters continually brought down, which being forced onwards by the current, till repelled by the tide, they subside and form what is called a bar. Their distance from the entrance of the river, which is generally about two miles, depends much on the winds being occasionally with or against the tides. When these bars accumulate sufficiently to resist the tide and the current of the river, they form numerous small islands, which constantly increasing, join each other, and at last reach the continent.

All the maritime coast of Louisiana is low and marshy: that from the mouth of Pearl river, where the southern boundary of the state begins is like that from the Perdido to Pearl river, faced by low and sandy islands; the principal of which are those of Chandeleur and a considerable number of islets. Near the mouth of the Mississippi is Round bay, in which vessels often fall, and where they wait, not without danger, and often for a long time for a fair wind, to reach one of the passes of the Mississippi, which it would be difficult to find, were it not for the houses at the old and new Balizes and the flag staff at the former, which are visible from some distance at sea. The white clayey colour of the water, remaining unmixed on the surface of the salt, is also an indication that the mighty stream is not far. It has the appearance of a shoal and alarms strangers: but the soundings are much deeper off the Mississippi, than any where else on the coast.

It is an observation founded on experience, that when the water of the river incorporates itself with that of the sea, and is apparently lost in the gulf, the current divides itself, and generally sets northeasterly and southwesterly; but, off soundings, the currents are in a great measure, governed by the winds, and, if not attended to, will drive vessels southwestward, beyond the Balize, into the bay of St. Bernard, which is full of shoals, and consequently of a difficult, nay dangerous navigation.

The old Balize, a post erected by the French towards the year 1724, at the mouth of the river, is now two miles above it. There was not then the smallest appearance of the island, on which, forty-two years after Don Antonio de Ulloa caused barracks to be erected for the accommodation of the pilots, which is now known as the new Balize.

The French had a considerable fort and garrison at the old Balize: but the magazine and several other buildings, and a part of the fortifications, gradually sunk into the soft ground. The Spaniards had a battery with three or four guns, and a subaltern's command on each island. Such is the situation of these islands, that they neither defend the entrance of the Mississippi, nor the deepest channels. The small establishments on them appear to have been made for the purpose of affording assistance to vessels coming into the river, and forwarding intelligence and despatches to New Orleans.

In ascending the stream, there are natural prairies and a prospect of the sea on both sides, for most of the distance to the bend of Plaquemines, where a fort on each bank defends the passage, and is sufficient to stop the progress of any vessel. The British in 1815 warmly bombarded, during several days, the fort on the eastern bank. The distance from the Ba-

lize to it is thirty two miles. From thence to the beginning of the settlements there are about twenty miles. The intermediate space is a continued tract of low and marshy ground, generally overflowed. It is covered with thick wood and palmetto bushes, which seem to render it impervious to man or beast. The banks of the river above this are thickly settled on each side for the space of thirty-five miles to the English turn, where the circular direction of the river is so considerable, that vessels cannot proceed with the wind that brought them up, and must either wait for a more favourable one, or make fast to the bank and haul close, there being a sufficient depth of water for any vessel entering the river.

At the bottom of the bend of the English turn, on the east side is a creek running in that direction into Lake Borgne, on the elevated banks of which, a number of Spanish families, brought by government from the Canary islands in 1783, found an asylum. They were aided by the public treasury, and procured a scanty subsistence in raising vegetables for the market of New Orleans. They were in time joined by several Acadian families. A church was built for them at the king's expense: it was dedicated to St. Bernard, in compliment to Don Bernardo de Galvez, the governor of the province, under whom the migration was made. In course of time, several colonists removed thither, and it was then that the sugar cane began to be cultivated, after the abortive efforts to naturalize it to the climate of Louisiana, under the French government. This part of the country was called *Terre aux Bœufs*, from its having been the last refuge of the buffaloes or wild oxen.

By a singularity, of which Louisinana offers perhaps the only instance, the more elevated ground in it is found on the banks of its rivers, bayous and lakes.

This elevation of a soil generally good, rarely too strong, often too weak, owing to a mixture of sand, varies considerably in its depth, and reaches, in very few places indeed, the elevated land of another stream or lake. Hence, the original grants of land were made of a certain number of arpens (French acres) fronting the stream, *face au fleuve*, with the eventual depth, which was afterwards fixed at forty arpens, and ordinarily carries the grant to a considerable distance into the cypress swamp.

These back swamps draining the arable ground, receive, during the high water, that which comes from the clouds, and that which filters through, or overflows the levee—that which finds its way through the breaches of these levees or crevasses, occasioned at times by the negligence of some planter, and that which others draw from the river to irrigate their fields or turn their mills. It may therefore be correctly said, in Louisiana, that water does not run to the river. But, unfortunately the mass of stagnant water, during several months of the year, to the north of the Mississippi, between its left bank and the right of the Iberville, the lakes Maurepas, Pontchartrain and Borgne and those of Round bay, and to the south from the Atchafalaya, between its left bank and the right one of the bayous and lakes, which discharge themselves in the wide estuary near the sea, finds but a partial and insufficient issue at high water, and produces, especially in uncovered spots, the deadly evaporation of the fetid miasmata of the marshes and swamps it covers. Fortunately, on either side of the Mississippi, is found the greatest depth of arable and open ground, varying from the fraction of an arpent to thirty generally, rarely to sixty, and in very few places indeed to one hundred. The banks of the lakes, generally narrower, are much nearer to the

swamps, which empty their contents through a number of bayous; they are interspersed with prairies and spots of high land, covered with oak and cypress.

This gives to this part of the state a disagreeable aspect, obstructs communications and insulates planters. It gives it a dismal and dangerous appearance, which must be well known before it may be trodden, with safety. Nature seems not to have intended it for the habitation of man; but rather to have prepared it for the retreat of aligators, snakes, toads and frogs, who at dusk, by their united, though discordant vociferations, upbraid man as an intruder, assert their exclusive right, and lay their continual claim to the domain they inhabit.

It might be concluded from this picture, that Louisiana is an unhealthy country; but this would be to judge of the whole by the part. The city of New Orleans has been visited (principally since the beginning of the current century) with disastrous and almost annual epidemics, which, at a first view, justify the conclusion, if they are not the effect of local circumstances. But, it is universally admitted, that planters on the Mississippi, whom an imperious necessity compels to range themselves on the banks of the stream, especially above the city, suffer nothing from the influence of the climate or their position.

Agriculture, on both sides of the river, from the sea to the vicinity of Baton Rouge, demands the protection against its inundations, of artificial banks or levees. Public and private interest have made them the object of the solicitude and attention of the legislature. Yet, as interest excites not the vigilance of those to whom the execution of the laws, in this respect, is committed, the negligence of a planter occasions, at times, a breach or crevasse on his levee, in some part of the river. If it be not imme-

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diately discovered or prompt attention given, the impetuous waves force their passage and widen the breach—the crop of the heedless planter is soon destroyed; the rails of his fences float and his house is borne away. But the alarming flood increases in extent, strength and rapidity; the angry stream seems to have found a new channel; the back swamps are filled to a considerable extent; the water rises in them and overflowing for numbers of miles, above and below the breach, inundates the cultivated fields, reaches the levee and despoils a whole neighbourhood of the fruit of the sweat and labour of its inhabitants. The mischief does not end here. The Mississippi does not, like the Nile, deposit a fattening slime, on the land it overflows. On the contrary, it leaves on it a large quantity of sand, destructive of its fertility, or scatters the seeds of noxious weeds. Immediately around New Orleans, the culture of sugar and even gardens hath been abandoned, on account of the prodigious growth of nut grass, the seeds of which have been spread by the water of the Mississippi.

From the English turn to the city, the Mississippi is bordered on each side by plantations, and the houses are as close to each other, as in many parts of the United States that are dignified by the appellation of town. The planters are all wealthy, and almost exclusively engaged in the culture of the cane. There are a few who cultivate cotton. The distance is eighteen miles.

The city of New Orleans rises on the bank of the Mississippi, in the middle of a large bend. The circular direction of the stream here is so great, that although the city stands on the eastern side, the sun rises on the opposite bank. The city proper is an oblong square of about twenty-eight arpents in front,



on the Mississippi, and fourteen in depth, which under the French and Spanish governments was surrounded and defended by a line of fortifications and a ditch. It has in its middle, on the river, a large square, or *place d'armes*, surrounded by an iron pallisado, and is adorned by three elegant public edifices, the cathedral, city hall, and a building in which the courts of the state are accommodated with halls and offices. Those occupy one side of the square: that towards the river is open; each of the two others is covered by a block of uniform houses, with upper-galleries. The city is intersected by seven streets parallel, and twelve perpendicular, to the river. The direction of the latter is north west and south east. With its suburbs, New Orleans extends along the river about three miles, and in its utmost depth on the outer line of the uppermost suburb, about one. We speak of the parts covered by contiguous buildings: that within the chartered limits, is much greater.

The middle steeple of the cathedral is in 29. 57. north latitude and 92. 29. of west longitude from Greenwich.

The three first streets parallel to the river and most of the perpendicular ones, as far as they are intersected by the former, have a considerable number of elegant brick buildings, three stories high; but the rest of the city has nothing but small wooden houses, one story high; some very mean. The proportion of the latter is much greater, than in any other city of the United States.

Besides the public buildings on the square, there are the old and new nunneries, a presbyterian and an episcopal church, the jail, custom house, court house of the United States, three theatres, an university, hospital and market house.

The city has three banks, besides the office of discount and deposit of that of the United States.

Two public institutions offer an asylum to the orphan youth of both sexes.

In the rear, towards the middle of the city, is a basin for small vessels, which approach New Orleans through lake Borgne: a canal about two miles in length, leads from it to bayou St. John, a small stream, which empties in lake Pontchartrain: another canal, in suburb Marigny, affords also a communication with the lakes: it begins within a few yards of the Mississippi and falls into bayou St. John, at a short distance from the place, where it receives the waters of the other canal.

In population, New Orleans is superior to every city in the union, except New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston. It appears from official documents, that it contained in 1769 three thousand one hundred and ninety persons of all colours, sexes and ages: in 1733, five thousand three hundred and thirty one: in 1797 eight thousand and fifty-six: in 1810, seventeen thousand, two hundred and forty-two, and according to the last census, in 1820, twenty-seven thousand, one hundred and fifty six.

The city is protected from the inundation of the river, by a levee or bank, twenty feet in width, which affords a convenient walk.

Both sides of the Mississippi, from the city of New Orleans to the town of Donaldsonville, a space of seventy-five miles, are occupied by the wealthiest planters in the state, principally engaged in the culture of the sugar cane. This part of the country has been denominated the German and Acadian coasts, from its original settlers; and the wealth of the present has procured to it the appellation of the golden coast. There are five parochial churches and a convent of

nuns, between New Orleans and Donaldsonville. No water course runs into, or flows from, the Mississippi in this distance, if we except a small canal, on the western side, near the city, which affords a communication with lake Barataria and others.

Donaldsonville stands on the western side of the river, at the angle it forms with bayou Lafourche, or the fork of the Chetimachas.

This town, though destined to be the seat of government, by an act of the legislature, is but a small place. It has an elegant brick church, and contains the court house and jail of the parish. The bank of Louisiana has here an office of discount and deposit, and there is a printing office, from which an hebdomadary sheet is issued. A large edifice is now rearing for the accommodation of the legislature.

The bayou Lafourche is an outlet of the Mississippi river, which has probably, been the first channel through which it discharged its water into the gulf of Mexico, by the way of Big and Little caillou, the Terre bonne, Bayou du large, Bayou du cadre and Bayou black, besides several others.

For the soil, on the banks of all those streams, although of alluvial origin, like the Mississippi bottoms, which they resemble in every respect, appear of older formation: at least it is more impregnated with oxid of iron, its vegetable fossils more decayed, and the canes and timber, which it produces, are generally larger than those on the banks of the Mississippi. Every one of these water courses is from one to four hundred feet in width, and has an extensive body of sugar land, capable of making fine settlements and producing the best sugar, as well as the olive tree, like in Berwick's bay to the N. W. of this. The land would produce from two to two thousand five hundred pounds of sugar, to the acre.

The climate is mild and frost is seldom seen in this region, before the last of December: the land is easily cleared for cultivation, which consists simply in cutting the sticks, canes, and a few large magnolia, or sweet gum, perhaps three or four per acre. to let the canes dry and set them on fire. Nothing then remains except the bodies of the trees and stumps: the fertility of the soil is inferior to none; it produces every thing susceptible of growing in the climate.

The banks of most of these rivers, several feet above the high water mark, require no levee, like those of the Mississippi: the land wants little or no ditching, as it drains naturally: the water has traced with the hand of time its own gullies. The whole country affords great facility to new settlers, for providing fish, oysters, and game, all at hand; even large droves of buffaloes are often met with in the great cane brakes of that fine country, which has remained so long unsettled, only on account of the difficulty of penetrating through them.

However, it is probable a communication will soon be established: a great portion of that country has been viewed within the last five years, by the board of internal improvements; roads have been laid out, and a canal route traced all the way to New Orleans, fit for steam boat navigation, and having not more than ten miles to cut; six miles of which pass through firm and floating prairies. The fact is that thirty-seven arpents of canal in the firm prairie would join the waters of the Mississippi with those of the Lafourche, which already communicates to bayou Terrebonne by fields, lake and a canal of twelve feet in width, cut with saws through about two miles of floating prairies, by a few inhabitants of that bayou; but this passage is only fit for small paddling boats, as

there are twelve arpents of cypress swamp joining the Terrebonne, where the boats have to paddle through the cypress knees, logs and brush.

The water of the lakes, which are very numerous between the Lafourche and the Terrebonne, are five feet and a half above the level of the waters of Terrebonne, which already communicates with Black river, on bayou Cleannoir by the way of bayou Cane; but a canal of twenty arpents would join those two bayous six miles above that, and at the same time join the Grand caillou by means of five locks: the level of Black river is six feet below the latter water, and Grand caillon six feet and a half, so that this canal can be dug at little expense, above the actual level of the water, before letting in that of the lakes.

The benefits resulting from these improvements are incalculable: the immense forests of oak wood on the bayou Lafourche could be brought to New Orleans in a very few hours. The quantity of clam shells on the big Catahoula and neighbourhood, might be transported to New Orleans, at a moderate expense and make a fine pavement for the streets of that city. At no great cost, the fish market would offer a new branch of trade.

Oysters could be brought to market for half the actual price.

The magnificent live oak of Grande isle and Cheniere Caminada, would not only afford fine timber for building durable ships and steam boats, but yet offer an hospitable shade, under their ever green foliage to the inhabitants of New Orleans, who would resort to those places, in preference to any other, if they could get to them with out difficulty.

Yet, those are comparatively matters of little consideration, when we reflect that this canal passes through the greatest body of land, fit for the culture

of the sugar cane, and in fact the only one in the U. S. fully adapted to that culture, which affords the prosperous staple of this state; and that this canal will cause the whole of that country to settle, which, in a few years will double the, quantity of sugar now made in the whole state, notwithstanding the increase of trade, which must naturally take place by the facility afforded by such canal, for the intercourse between New Orleans and the western coast of the gulf of Mexico.

About thirty miles higher up, the Mississippi has another outlet, through bayou Plaquemines, the waters of which, united to those of Grand river, flow into several lakes and lagoons on the sea coast. Bayou Plaquemines is a rapid stream; but is dry at the upper end, during winter. Its northern bank is not inhabited, being a great part of the year under water; and the agricultural establishments, on the southern bank, protected by a small levee, are scarce and insignificant.

Between these two outlets, the banks of the Mississippi are thickly settled; but the sugar plantations are few, and the planters not so wealthy, as below Donaldsonville. Under the Spanish government, it was believed the sugar cane could not well succeed so high up, and there were but two plantations, on which it was cultivated; they were close to Donaldsonville. But, since the cession, the industry of the purchasers of Louisiana has proved that the cane succeeds well as high up as Pointe Coupée.

The orange tree does not thrive well above bayou Plaquemines: the sweet is no longer seen, though the sour is found as far as the northern limit of the state, on the west of the Mississippi.

The only outlet, which the Mississippi has through its eastern bank, is a few miles above bayou Plaque-

mines—it is called bayou Manshae. At about ten miles from the Mississippi, it receives the river Amite from its right side, and takes the name of Iberville river.

From the Mississippi to the mouth of the Iberville on lake Maurepas, the distance along the stream is sixty miles; the first ten of which do not admit of navigation, during more than four months of the year. There are, at all times, from two to six feet of water for three miles farther, and the depth, in the remaining part of the way to the lake, is from two to four fathoms.

The river Amite falls into bayou Manshae on the north side, twenty miles from the Mississippi: the water of the Amite is clear, running on a gravelly bottom. It may be ascended by vessels, drawing from five to six feet of water, about twelve, and with batteaux one hundred, miles farther. It forks about seventeen miles above its mouth: the eastern fork is the Comite; the western, which preserves its name, is the most considerable and rises near Pearl river. Both run through a fertile, rolling country, which as well as the low land, is covered with cane, oak, ash, mulberry, hickory, poplar, cedar and cypress.

The united waters of bayou Manshae and the Amite form the Iberville, the length of which is thirty-nine miles. The land and timber on its banks are similar to those on the Amite, with the difference that the banks of the Iberville are in general lower, and the country less hilly, with a greater proportion of rice land, and cypress and live oak of an excellent quality for ship building.

Lake Maurepas is about ten miles long and seven wide, and from ten to twelve feet deep. The country around it is low and covered with cypress, live oak and myrtle.

The Tickfoa is the only river that falls into lake Maurepas. It rises in the state of Mississippi and runs a middle course between Amite and Pearl rivers, it has a sufficient depth for steam boat navigation to the mouth of bayou Chapeaupilier, a distance of about fifty miles.

The pass of Manshac connects lake Maurepas and lake Pontchartrain. It is seven miles in length, and about three hundred yards wide; divided by an island, which runs from the former to within a mile from the latter; the south channel is the deepest and shortest.

The greatest length of lake Pontchartrain is about forty miles, and its width about twenty-four, and the average depth ten fathoms.

It receives on the north side the rivers Tangipao, Tchefuncta and Bonfouca, with the bayous Castin and Lacemel, and on the side of the city, bayou St. John, and higher up bayou Tigouyou.

Tangipao has at its mouth a depth of water of four feet, Tchefuncta seven, and Bonfouca six.

Two passes connect lake Pontchartrain with an estuary called lake Borgne, the Rigolets and the pass of Chef Menteur, both of which are defended by a fort, surrounded by deep morasses.

The passes are about ten miles long, and from three to four hundred yards wide.

By bayous that fall into lake Borgne, a number of fishermen, who dwell on its banks, find their way to the market of New Orleans, which they supply. Through one of these, bayou Bienvenu, the British army under general Pakenham, proceeded, with all its artillery to within a very few miles of the city.

There are from sixteen to eighteen feet of water on the sides of lake Borgne; in the middle from ten to



twelve fathoms; but in its upper part, from eleven to twelve feet.

Opposite to the entrance into lake Borgne, and at the end of the Rigolets, on the north side near the gulf, is the mouth of Pearl river.

This stream rises in the northern part of the state of Mississippi, and after traversing it centrally, sends its waters into the gulf by two main branches. The eastern which, we have seen, divides the states of Louisiana and Mississippi, falls into lake Borgne. The western, which leaves the main branch in the latitude of thirty degrees, runs entirely through the former state and falls into the Rigolets.

Above the fork, the navigation is good for steam boats, during six months of the year; some have already ascended to Monticello.

It is evident from an inspection of this river, that at no very distant period, its eastern branch was its only channel, meandering through an extent of above one hundred miles to lake Borgne. During some inundation, the western branch broke from the main channel, through the swamps, and found a nearer course, of sixty miles only, to the Rigolets.

Above Manshac, the land gradually rises on the eastern side of the river, to Baton Rouge, a small town distant about one hundred and twenty miles from New Orleans. The plantations are not all, as below, ranged side by side on the immediate banks of the river; but, many are scattered in the intermediate space, between the Mississippi, the rivers Amite, Comite and others flowing into the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain. On one of these the Spaniards made an abortive effort to establish a town, called Galveztown.

Sugar plantations are now much fewer; but those on which cotton is cultivated are more numerous and

extensive. The part of the state to the east of the Mississippi and the lakes, having been occupied by the British for nearly twenty years, the descendants of its original French inhabitants are in very small number, indeed; and a great many of the people who have come to Louisiana from other states, since the cession, have settled there: during the possession of the British, several colonists from the Atlantic provinces, principally Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, flocked thither. There was a considerable migration in 1764 and 1765 from the banks of the Roanoke, in North Carolina; so that the population differs very little from that of the Atlantic states. The mixture of French and Spaniards being small indeed, except in the town of Baton Rouge.

This town is built on a high bluff, on the eastern side of the river. The United States have extensive barracks near it. It contains the public buildings of the parish, and has two weekly gazettes and a branch of the bank of Louisiana.

On the opposite side of the river from bayou Plaquemines, the arable land is only a narrow slip between the bank and the cypress swamps, that empty themselves in the Atchafalaya.

At a distance of about thirty miles from Baton Rouge and on the same side, on an elevated ridge parallel to and near the river, is the town of St. Francisville. The land around, as far north as the boundary line, which is only fifteen miles distant, and far to the east, is rolling, and tolerably well adapted to the culture of the cotton, which engages the attention of the settlers. St. Francisville has a house of worship, a weekly paper and a branch of the bank of Louisiana, and the public buildings of its parish.

Opposite to it, is the settlement of Pointe Coupée, the principal part of which is on a peninsula, formed

by the old bed of the Mississippi, called False river, the upper part of which is stopped up at present. The French had a fort there, the vestiges of which are still discernible. This parish is populous and wealthy: cotton is its principal staple, but it has few sugar plantations. It has no town; but the plantations throughout, principally on both banks of False river, are much closer to each other than in any other parish in the state. It is at high water insulated, by the Atchafalaya and the Mississippi on the northeast and west, and by a dismal swamp which separates it from the parish of West Baton Rouge, and which is then inundated.

To the west, and at the distance of forty miles from St. Francisville, is the small town of Jackson, and about sixty miles to the south of the latter, that of Springfield, near the mouth of Tangipao river, which falls into lake Maurepas.

On the eastern side of lake Pontchartrain, near the mouth of the Tchefuncta is the town of Madisonville, and seven miles higher up, that of Covington. The land in this neighbourhood along the water courses is a rich alluvial bottom, and terminates in pine barrens.

The country near Springfield, Covington and Madisonville, especially the two last, is sandy and sterile in general, and covered with pine trees; although there are, along most of the water courses, several spots well adapted to the culture of cotton. The inhabitants apply their industry to making tar and pitch, gathering turpentine, cutting timber, burning bricks and lime; the immense ridges of shell, on the margin of the gulf facilitating greatly, the last operation.

A little above the northern extremity of the settlement of Pointe Coupee, Red river pours its waters

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into the Mississippi. This stream has its source in the vicinity of Santa Fe. The Mississippi, a little below, sends part of its accumulated flood to the sea through a western branch, its first outlet from its source called the Atchafalaya; a word, which in the Indian language means a long river. The form of the country and this name, not at all applicable to the stream at present, have given rise to the opinion, that, in former time, the northern extremity of the settlement of Pointe Coupee prolonged itself to, and joined the bank of the Mississippi, above the mouth of Red river, leaving a piece of ground between the two streams; so that Red river did not pay the tribute of its waters to the Mississippi, but carried them, and the name of Atchafalaya, which it then bore, and was particularly applicable to it, to the sea; the present stream, which has retained its name, being only a continuation of it and that in course of time the waves of the long and great rivers destroyed the ground that separated them, and divided the former into two; the upper one of which has received the name of Red river from the Europeans, on account of the colour of its water, which is occasioned by the copper mines near it, the impregnations of which prevent them from being potable.

The confluence of Red river and the Mississippi is remarkable as the spot, on which the army of Charles I. of Spain, under Soto, towards the middle of the sixteenth century, committed the body of their chief to the deep, in order to prevent its falling into the hands of the Indians.

On entering Red river, the water appears turbid, brackish and of a red colour. For the first sixty or seventy miles, its bed is so crooked, that the distance through its meanderings is two thirds greater than in

f the settle- s its waters

a straight line. The general course is nearly east to west; the land for upwards of thirty miles from its mouth is overflowed at high water, from ten to fifteen feet. Below Black river, the northern bank is the highest. The growth in the lower or southern part is willow and cotton wood; in the higher, oak, hickory and ash.

Six miles from the mouth of the river, on the south side, is bayou Natchitoches, which communicates with lake Long, from whence another bayou affords a passage to the river. At high water, boats pass through these bayous and lake, and go to the river after a route of fifteen miles, while the distance from one bayou to the other is forty-five.

Black river comes up from the north, about twenty-four miles from bayou Natchitoches; its water is clear and limpid, when contrasted with that of Red river, and appears black.

Above the junction, Red river makes a regular turn to the south, for about eighteen miles, forming a segment of about three fourths of a circle. Twenty miles above, the bayou from lake Long comes in, and thirty-three miles still farther is the first landing of the Avoyelles: the river all the while being so crooked that, at this place, the guns of Fort Adams are distinctly heard; although the distance by the river is upwards of one hundred and fifty miles. The sound appears a little south from east.

At this landing is the first arable soil immediately on the banks of the river, which, in the whole space, are higher than the land behind. At a short distance from this landing, to the south is the prairie des Avoyelles, of an oval form and about forty miles in circumference. It is very level, covered with high grass and has but very few clumps of trees: its soil is not

very fertile; that of the timber land around it, when cleared, is far preferable. The lower end of the prairie has the richest land. The timber around it is chiefly oak, which produces good mast. The inhabitants raise cotton: but the settlement is better for cattle and hogs: in high water it is insulated, and at others communicates with those of Rapides, Opelousas and Pointe Coupee.

The upper landing is fifteen miles higher, and sixteen miles above, a few years ago, was laid the foundation of the town of Cassandra, on the north side, opposite to bayou L'amoureux, which connects Red river and bayou Bœuf. The intermediate land on the northern bank is tolerably good, moderately hilly, covered chiefly with oak, hickory and short leaved pine. But, at the distance of a few miles from the water, begins a pine barren tract, that extends for upwards of thirty miles to the settlements of Catahoula. On the south side, is a large body of rich low ground, extending to the borders of the settlements of Opelousas, watered and drained by bayou Robert and bayou Bœuf, two handsome streams of clear water that rise in the high land between Red river and the Sabine.

Bayou Bœuf falls into bayou Crocodile, which empties itself into the Atchafalaya to the south of the settlement of Avoyelles, at a short distance from the large raft in the latter stream. In point of fertile soil, growth of timber, and goodness of water, there is not perhaps an equal quantity of good land, in the state, than on the banks of bayou Bœuf.

The town of Alexandria stands on the south side of Red river, fifteen miles above that of Cassandra, and immediately below the rapids or falls, which are occasioned by a sudden rise of the bed of the river.

which is here a soft rock, extending quite across. From July to November, there is a sufficiency of water, over the falls, for the passage of boats. The rock is extremely soft and does not extend up and down the river more than a few yards, and a passage could easily be cut across.

The town is regularly built. It has an elegant court house and a college, built of bricks, a strong jail and a neat market house. The bank of Louisiana has here an office of discount, and there is a printing office, from which a weekly paper is issued.

The settlement of Rapides is a valley of rich alluvial soil, surrounded by pine hills, extending to the east towards the Washita, and in the opposite direction to the Sabine. The pine hills come to the river, opposite to the town.

Immediately above the town, the river receives from the same side bayou Rapides, a semi circular stream, about thirty miles in length, the upper part of which receives a portion of the water of Red river.

Bayou Robert, which is now almost stagnant, formerly ran out of bayou Rapides, about a mile above its mouth and winding through a rich valley united with bayou Bœuf. But, a dyke has been thrown up, at its former mouth and the current confined to bayou Rapides.

Both these bayous pass through bodies of extremely fine land, of great depth.

Twenty miles above Alexandria are two deserted villages of the Biloxi Indians.

Near these, bayou Jean de Dieu or Coteille, falls into Red river, from the right side. The stream of bayou Rapides, of which the channel is continuous, was formerly a navigable branch of Red river, which returned to the parent stream, below and at the foot

of the rapids but the gradual deepening of the bed and the widening of the stream have left it a small bayou, which is fed by springs and branches from the pine hills; one half emptying at the former outlet above; the other at the foot of the rapids, below. The lower half is called bayou Rapides. The whole length is about thirty miles. The land throughout is of the finest quality and great depth, and now in the highest state of culture. These bayous are not used for the purpose of navigation, but are capable of forming with little expense, a fine natural canal.

Thirteen miles above bayou Jean de Dieu, is an island of seventy miles in length and three in width, the northern channel of which is called the Rigolet du bon Dieu and the other the river aux Cannes.

There is not much good land on the west side of the river; the high lands generally confine it on one side and the island thus formed is, on the side of it bordering on the rigolet, subject to inundation.

On the east side of the river the valley is narrow but of inexhaustible fertility; the rest of the land between the river and the Washita, is oak and pine land, of little value, except in spots on the water courses.

The principal settlements of Natchitoches are on the immediate banks of the river, on each side. The land is red alluvion, of singular fertility, but not cultivable to a great extent from the rivers. The swamps commencing within a very few acres.

The town of Natchitoches is at the distance of one hundred and nine miles from Alexandria and on the same side of Red river. It is the westernmost town of the state, being two hundred and sixty-six miles from the Mississippi, about four hundred from New Orleans and five hundred from the gulf by water.

The old town stood on a hill, about half a mile behind the present, which is immediately on the bank



of the river. On the second street, is a hill the area of which covers about two hundred acres of ground; on it a fort and barracks have been built, the site of which is thirty feet above the bank of the river. The old town is an extensive common of several hundred acres entirely tufted with clover and covered with sheep and cattle. Nothing of it is discoverable, except the forms of the gardens and some ornamental trees. It began to be abandoned soon after the cession of the province to Spain. Before, most of the settlers dwelt in town: the hill is of stiff clay and the streets were miry: the people found the place inconvenient, on account of their stock and farms, and filed off one after the other, and settled on the river. The merchants found its banks convenient for lading and unloading: the mechanics followed and the church and jail were removed. The soil on the river, though much richer, is of a loose sandy texture and the streets are not miry, nor much dusty. The town is nearly twice as large as Alexandria. The well water is hardly potable, that of the river brackish, and the inhabitants, as in Alexandria, have large cisterns for collecting rain water. The public buildings of the parish are in this town and a weekly gazette is published.

There are two lakes near, within one and six miles. The larger has a circumference of six miles, the other of thirty. They rise and fall with the river: the stream, that connects them with it, during high water, runs into them with great velocity, and in like manner to the river, during the rest of the year. The quantity of fish and fowls which are obtained on these lakes appears incredible. It is not uncommon, in winter, for a man to kill from two to four hundred fowls in an evening. They fly between sun down and dusk:

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the air is filled with them. A man loads and fires, as quickly as he can, without taking aim, and continues on the same spot, till he thinks he has killed enough. Ducks and geese, brant and swan are thus killed. In summer, fish abound equally. An Indian, with a bow and arrow, kills more than two horses can carry away, while he is thus engaged. Some of the fish weigh from thirty to forty pounds. The lakes afford also a plenty of shell for lime. At low water, their bottoms are most luxuriant meadows, where the inhabitants fatten their horses.

Stone coal is found in abundance, in the neighbourhood, with a quarry of good building stone.

Similar lakes are found all along Red river for five or six hundred miles. They are natural reservoirs, for the surplus quantity of water, beyond what the banks of the river may contain; otherwise, no part of the ground could be inhabited, the low land, from hill to hill, would be inundated.

Twelve miles north of Natchitoches, on the opposite side of the river is lake Noir, a large one; the bayou of which comes into the Rigolet du bon Dieu, opposite to the town; near it are salt works, from which the town is supplied.

Three miles up the stream, is the upper mouth of the Rigolet du bon Dieu, where the settlement of the grand cecor, or great bluff begins. This eminence stands on the south side, and is about one hundred feet high. Towards the river, it is almost perpendicular, and of a soft white rock: the top is a gravel loam of considerable extent, on which grow large oaks, hickory, black cherry and grape vines. There is a small bluff near, at the foot of which is a large quantity of stone coal, and several springs of the best water in this part of the country. Near them, is a lake of clear water, with a gravelly margin.

The river makes a large bend above the bluffs, to the north, and a long reach, nearly due east by it. About a mile above, from the south shore, a large bayou comes in from the Spanish lake, which is about fifty miles in circumference, and rises and falls with the river, from which the largest boats may ascend to the lake, and through it up several bayous. particularly bayou Dupin, up which, boats may go within one mile and a half from the old French fort, at the Adayes.

Two miles above this place, the river forks; the southwestern branch running westerly for sixty miles, then forming and meeting the other.

The country, bounded to the east and north by this branch of the river, is called the bayou Pierre settlement, from a stream that traverses it. Part of the land was granted by the French government. The inhabitants raised large herds of cattle and made some cheese. The settlement is interspersed with prairies, and the land is equally rich, as the river bottoms. The hills are of a good grey soil. The creek, called by the new settlers, Stony creek, affords several good mill seats. Its bed and banks furnish a good kind of building stone. The upland is high, gently rolling, and produces good corn, cotton and tobacco. A few miles to the west is an abundant saline.

Higher up on the river, on a hill, to the north east is the Campti settlement. The river land is here much broken by bayous and lagoons.

Between lake Bistineau and the tributary streams of the Washita is a new and extensive settlement, which has grown up within a few years, called Allen's settlement. The land is second rate upland, finely watered and well adapted to raising stock.

The country to the west of Red river, extending to the Sabine, furnishes but a small proportion of even

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second rate land. It is generally covered with oak and pine. There are some choice spots of land; but of small extent.

Cantonment Jessup is situated half way between Red river and the Sabine and on the highest ridge, which separates the streams flowing into these rivers.

The land on the Sabine is unfit for cultivation to any extent. The part of it, which is not subject to sudden overflow, is high land of no value but for raising stock.

Above is the obstruction, commonly called the great raft, choking up the channel for upwards of one hundred miles, by the course of the river. It was examined, during the winter of 1826, by capt. Birch and lieutenant Lee, with a detachment from cantonment Jessup, by order of the secretary of war of the United States, with the view of ascertaining the practicability of opening a passage for steam boats.

They found, within one hundred miles of the bed of the river, above one hundred and eighty rafts or jams of timber, from a few to four hundred yards in length. They thought that to break through, or remove them, so as to admit the passage of a steam boat, would be a work of immense labour and expense, and that, if done, the loose timber would probably form other rafts below.

The bank of the river appeared to them very rich; but so covered with canes, briars and vines, as to render it impossible to advance, without cutting a passage all the way, and they judged a man could cut but a few yards in a day.

They crossed over an island hauling a light skiff to bayou Pierre, from which a canal of less than half a mile, through an alluvial soil, would open a communication with lake Scioto. This lake is about one hundred miles long and five or six wide: a channel

ten feet deep runs through it. The high water mark is at least fifteen feet above the surface of the lake in winter. The lake has an indented shore, parallel to the river, and a communication with it about twenty-five miles above the raft, and another might be easily opened many miles higher up.

In ascending bayou Pierre, which falls into the river six miles above the town of Natchitoches, the principal obstruction consists of a number of cypress stumps, that might be easily removed at low water. This once effected and a canal cut into lake Scioto, there would be nothing, at high water, to prevent steam boats ascending Red river one thousand miles above the town of Natchitoches, even into New Mexico, through a fertile and salubrious country. It is believed, that the passage through bayou Pierre is one hundred miles shorter than through the main branch of the river.

Cotton is exclusively cultivated for sale in the settlement of Rapides, and almost so in that of Natchitoches, in which tobacco is also raised: it is of a superior quality; the planters do not put it up as elsewhere in hogsheds, but bring it to market in carrots.

Black river, at its mouth, is about one hundred yards in width, and is twenty feet deep. Its banks are covered with pea vine, and several kinds of grasses, bearing a seed which geese and ducks eat greedily. Willows are generally seen on one side or the other, with a small growth of black oak, pecan, hickory elm, &c. It takes its name at the distance of sixty-six miles from Red river, where it branches out into the Catahoula, Washita and Tensa. Its width here does not exceed eighty yards. The soil is a black mould mixed with a moderate proportion of sand, resembling much the soil of the Mississippi. Yet the forest trees are not like those on that stream.

but resemble those on Red river. The cane grows on several parts of its right bank, and a few small willows are seen on either. In advancing up the river, the timber becomes large, rising in some places to the height of forty feet. The land is at times inundated, not by the waters of the river, but from the intrusion of its powerful neighbour, the Mississippi. The land declines rapidly from the banks, as in all alluvial countries, to the cypress swamps, where more or less water stagnates, during the whole year. Towards the upper end of Black river, the shore abounds with muscles and perrywinkles, the first of the kind called pearl muscles.

The land, at the mouth of the Catahoula is evidently alluvial. In process of time, the river, shutting up its ancient passage, and elevating the banks over which its waters pass no longer, communicates with the same facility as formerly. The consequence is, that many large tracts, before subject to inundation, are now exempt from that inconvenience.

There is an embankment running from the Catahoula to Black river (enclosing about two hundred acres of rich land) at present about ten feet high, and ten feet broad. This surrounds four large mounds of earth at the distance of a bow-shot from each other; each of which may be twenty feet high, one hundred feet broad, and three hundred feet long at the top, besides a stupendous turret, situated on the back part of the whole, or farthest from the water; the base covers about an acre of ground, rising by two steps or stories, tapering in the ascent; the whole surmounted by a great cone with its top cut off. This tower of earth, on admeasurement, was found to be eighty feet perpendicular.

The Tensa is a creek thirty six miles long, the issue of a lake of the same name, twenty-four miles in

length and six in breadth, which lies west from the mouth of the Catahoulas, and communicates with Red river, during the great annual inundations.

To the west and northwest angle of this lake, a stream called Little river enters, and preserves its channel of running water during all the year: meandering along the bed of the lake, the superficies of which, in all other parts, during the dry season from July to November, and frequently later, is completely drained, covered with the most luxuriant herbage, and becomes the retreat of immense herds of deer, of turkeys, geese and crane.

The Tensa serves only to drain off a part of the waters of the inundation from the low land of the Mississippi, which communicates with Black river during the season of high water.

Three miles up the Washita and on the right side, comes a stream called the Haha, one of the many passages through which the waters of the great inundation penetrate and pervade all the low land; annihilating, for a time, the current of lesser streams in the neighbourhood of the Mississippi.

Five miles above is the *prairie Villemont*, thus named from its having been included in a grant from the French government to an officer of that name.

In the beginning of the last century, the French projected, and began here extensive settlements, but the massacre in 1730, and the subsequent destruction of the Na'chez Indians, broke up all their undertakings, and they were not renewed by the French.

The timber, on both sides of the Washita to this prairie, is chiefly the red, white and black oak, interspersed with a variety of other trees.

The plains of the Washita lie on its east side, and sloping from the bank, are inundated in the rear by

the Mississippi. In certain great floods, the water has advanced so far, as to be ready to pour into the Washita over its margin.

On approaching towards bayou Lowes, which the Washita receives from the right, a little below its first rapid there is a great deal of high land on both sides of the river, producing the long leaved pine.

At the foot of the rapids, the navigation is obstructed, by beds of gravelly sand; above the first rapid is a high ridge of primitive earth, studded with abundance of fragments of rocks or stone, which appear to have been thrown up to the surface in a very irregular manner. The stone is of a very friable nature, some of it having the appearance of indurated clay; the rest is blackish, from exposure to the air; within, it is of a greyish white. It is said that the strata in the hill are regular and might afford good grindstones.

The other rapid is formed by a ledge of rocks crossing the entire bed of the river: above it, the water appears as in a mill pond and is about one hundred yards wide.

Twelve miles higher, a little above a rocky hill, comes in the bayou Aux Bœufs. The river is here, at low water, about two fathoms and a half deep, on a bottom of mud and sand. The banks of the river appear to retain very little alluvial soil: the high land earth which is a sandy loam of a grey colour, has streaks of red sand and clay. The soil is not rich; it bears pines, interspersed with red oak, hickory and dogwood.

A third rapid created by a transverse ledge of rock, narrows the river to about thirty yards.

Similar rapids occur as far as the settlement. It is a plain or prairie, which appears alluvial from the regular slope of the land from the bank of the river;



the bed of which is now sufficiently deep to preserve it from inundation. Yet, in the rear, the waters of the Mississippi approach, and sometimes leave dry but a narrow strip of land along the bank of the Washita. The soil is here very good, but not equal to the Mississippi bottoms; it may be estimated second rate. At a small distance to the east, are extensive cypress swamps, over which the waters of the inundation always stand, to the depth of from fifteen to twenty-five feet. On the west, after passing once the valley of the river, the breadth of which is from one quarter to two miles, the land assumes an elevation from one hundred to three hundred feet, and extends to the settlements of Red river. It is there poor and what is called pine barrens.

On this part of the river, lies a considerable tract of land, granted in 1795 by the Baron de Carondelet to the Marquis of Maison Rouge, a French emigrant, who proposed to bring into Louisiana, thirty families from his country, who were to descend the Ohio for the purpose of forming an establishment, on the banks of the Washita, designed principally for the culture of wheat, and the manufacture of flour. This tract was two leagues in width, and twelve in length, traversed by the river.

The town of Monroe stands on the side of the Washita, and at high water is approached by large steam boats; but the navigation is interrupted during a great part of the year by many shoals and rapids. The general width of the river to the town is from eighty to one hundred yards. Its banks present very little appearance of alluvial soil, but furnish an infinite number of beautiful landscapes.

A substance is found along the river side, nearly resembling mineral coal; its appearance is that of the carbonated wood, described by Kirwan. It does not

easily burn, but being applied to the flame of a candle, it sensibly increases it, and yields a faint smell, resembling that of gum lac, or common sealing wax.

Soft friable stone is common, and great quantities of gravel and sand are upon the beach; on several parts of the shore a redish clay appears in the strata of the banks, much indurated and blackened by exposure to light and air.

The land above the town is not very inviting, the soil being poor and covered with pine wood.

About thirty-six miles higher up is bayou Barthelemy, on the right. Here begins Baron de Bastrop's grant of land, by the Baron de Carondelet in 1795, obtained nearly on the same terms as that of the Marquis de Maison Rouge. It is a square of four leagues on each side, containing about one million of acres.

The bank of the river continues about thirty feet in height, of which eighteen from the water are a clayey loam of a pale colour, on which the water has deposited twelve feet of light sandy soil, apparently fertile, and of a dark brown colour. This description of land is of a small breadth, not exceeding one half of a mile on each side of the river; and may be called the valley of the Washita, between which there is high land covered with pine.

The soil continues with a growth of small timber to the bayou des butes, which has its name from a number of Indian mounds along its course.

The margin of the river begins now to be covered with such timber as grows on inundated land, particularly a species of white oak, vulgarly called the overcup oak, the wood of which is remarkably hard, solid, ponderous and durable. It produces a large acorn, in great abundance, on which bears feed, and which is very fattening for hogs.

A few miles higher up is a long and narrow island. Here the face of the country begins to change. The banks of the river are low and steep, its bed deeper and more contracted, being from twenty-five to thirty feet in depth. The soil, near the water, is a very sandy loam, covered with such vegetation, as is found on the inundated land of the Mississippi. The tract presents the appearance of a new soil, very different from what is below. This alluvial spot may be supposed the old site of a great lake, drained by a natural channel, by the abrasion of the water—since which period, the annual inundations have deposited the superior soil. Eighteen or twenty feet are wanting to render it habitable for man. It appears now well stocked with the beasts of the forest.

Mallet's island is above. Its upper point has been ascertained to be within 32 1-2 seconds to the northern line of the state. The bed of the river along this alluvial soil is generally covered with water, and its navigation, uninterrupted. Near it is *marais des Sabines*, on the right. A stratum of dirty white clay, under the alluvial tract, shows the end of the sunken and the approach of the high land. The salt lake marsh does not derive its name from any brackishness in its water; but from its contiguity to some of the lakes, generally found, on a clayey soil, compact enough for potters ware.

Opposite to this place is a point of land, forming a promontory, advancing within a mile of the river, and to which the boats resort, when the low lands are covered with water.

Great salt lick creek, a stream of considerable length, and navigable for small boats, comes in above. The hunters ascend it three hundred miles and affirm that none of the springs that feed it are salt. It has obtained its name from the many buffalo salt licks discovered in its vicinity.

Although many of these licks, by digging, furnish water, holding marine salt in solution, there exists no reason for believing that any of them would produce nitre.

Notwithstanding this low, alluvial tract appears in all respects well adapted to the growth of the long moss, or Spanish beard (*tilansia*) none is obtained in the thirty-third degree of latitude.

The long leaf pine, frequently the growth of rich and even inundated land, is here in great abundance. The short leaf pitch pine, on the contrary, is generally found upon arid land and frequently in sandy and lofty situations.

Some sand beaches and rapids are higher up; there are cane brakes on both sides of the river. The canes are small, but demonstrate that the water does not surmount the bank more than a few feet.

The river here begins to widen. Its banks show the high land soil, with a stratum of three or four feet of alluvion deposited by the river upon it. Their superstratum is greyish and very sandy, with a small admixture of loam, indicative of the poverty of the upland and mountains in which the river rises.

At the distance of a few miles is the confluence of the little Atipouse, on the left hand. The navigation of the Washita is much impeded by numerous rapids and shoals.

Coal mines are to be found on the north west side of the river, at the distance of one mile and a half from its banks, and a saline was discovered by Dr. Hunter, in 1804.

It is situated at the bottom of the bed of a deep gully. The surrounding land is rich and well timbered, but subject to inundation; except an Indian mound, having a base of eighteen or one hundred feet in diameter and twenty feet high. After digging

about three feet, through the clay, he came to quick sand from which the water flowed in abundance. Its taste was salt and bitter, resembling that of sea water. In a second hole, it required him to dig six feet before he reached the quick sand: in doing which, he struck several pieces of Indian pottery. The brine yielded a solid mass, by evaporation, of ten quarts or half a pound in weight, when dry. It is, therefore, of the same strength, as the water of the ocean on our coast, and twice that of the famous lick in Kentucky, called Bullet's lick, and Mank's lick, from which so much salt is made.

The part of the state lying north of Red river is interspersed with numerous lakes and water courses, and presents every variety of soil, from the low inundated land, to the highest hills in Louisiana. As in the lower region of the Mississippi, the margin of the rivers is (with the exception of a few tracts of high cane brake land) higher than that in the rear, taking a southern direction with that noble stream. The shores of lake Providence, the first high land that presents itself, are about three miles west from the river. That lake is evidently an ancient bed of the Mississippi; about thirty six miles due south, lake St. Joseph presents the same appearance. On Bruiné's bayou, twelve miles south, part of the banks are sufficiently high for cultivation. Lake St. John is not far from Concordia. The shores of both these lakes are partly cultivated; their features indicate also that they formerly were beds of the Mississippi. From Concordia to the mouth of Red river, the land descends suddenly from the banks into what makes a part of the Mississippi swamp. The first water course of any importance running west of and in a nearly parallel course with the Mississippi is the river Tensa

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which uniting with the bayou Mason runs into the Washita. The Tensa and Mason might easily be made navigable for steam boats, which have already ascended the Tensa upwards of thirty miles. In the upper part of those rivers, the land is high in many places, chiefly on the Mason; the land is rolling, far above high water mark, but not sufficiently elevated to merit the appellation of hills. Beautiful specimens of calcareous spath have been brought from that part of the country, found in ploughing. In the lower part of those streams the land is low and unfit for cultivation. Between the Mississippi and the Tensa, bayous intersect the swamp, always running west or southwestwardly; lakes, joined the one to the other by those bayous, are scattered over it. The greatest part of those lakes becomes dry at low water, and in a dry autumn, except those which were formerly beds of the Mississippi. These retain invariably a considerable quantity of water. The same observation applies to the country between the Mississippi and Black river, which empties into Red river thirty miles above its mouth. When the Mississippi rolls on its full tide, those bayous, receiving an immense addition from its waters, run with the rapidity of torrents; chiefly at their issue from the Mississippi into the Tensa and river Aux Bœufs, mixing their waters with the Washita and Black river, and carrying back into its bosom by Red river, what it had yielded to them above.

The head waters of the Tensa are at or near lake Providence; the Mason heads higher up and westerly.

The next river west of these is the Aux Bœufs, thus called by the first hunters (French) on account of the innumerable herds of buffaloes which then roamed in the large prairies bordering its banks. That river

has its rise not far north of the thirty-third degree of latitude, in the territory of Arkansas. The middle part of its course presents high rich land; it gets lower towards its mouth, near which it is overflowed to the Washita river. Between river Aux Bœufs and the Mason the land is low, with here and there a tract of high rich soil.

West of river Aux Bœufs, Barthelemy river, (often called bayou) is a considerable stream; it heads in the territory of Arkansas, and empties into the Washita, thirty miles by water above the town of Monroe, the only re-union of houses or hamlets in the parish of Washita. The land on that bayou is high on both sides; its water pure, and its current brisk, even at the lowest stage of water. It is navigable for barges or batteaux, and could be rendered fit for steam boat navigation at a small expense. Among the numerous water courses, which either are or could easily be made a *medium* of water communication, from the Mississippi to the northwestern part of the state, it will ultimately be this river, which will be found to afford the best, the easiest and the most important.

Among the numerous creeks and bayous which carry their tribute to the Washita river, bayou Louis ought not to be forgotten; it is not on account of the extent of its course, but on account of the land on its borders or adjacent thereto. It comes out of a lake of the same name, the western and northwestern banks of which are inhabited, being high and fertile. That lake and bayou, the Washita, river Aux Bœufs and Turkey creek surround the high land, called Sicily Island. In it are found high hills, generally much broken, containing sand stones and some silex in pebbles; that spot is the most remarkable for being the only one covered with slight hills between the Mississippi and Washita, and also, because it appears to

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have been among the first inhabited by the French, who settled in Louisiana, who probably abandoned it at the epoch of the massacre by the Natchez Indians. It is about thirty miles from Concordia, in a west by north direction. French axes have been found there, canon balls, even mill stones and iron tools much disfigured by rust, but evidently of French manufacture.

The next stream, to which all those mentioned above, are tributary is the Washita; that river has its source in the territory of Arkansas, in the rocky Mountains. In the vicinity of its head waters are found the celebrated warm springs. It runs almost parallel with the Mississippi. At the mouth of the Tensa, Little river or Catahoula river, arrives from the west. The Washita, running between the two, takes their additional supply at the same place, in its course, but there loses its name: from this place to its junction with Red river, during a meandering course of about sixty miles, it assumes the name of Black river, an appellation probably derived from the colour of the soil through which it runs; the fertility of which often induced emigrants to settle on its banks: but they are too low; very few years elapse without seeing them inundated; they are now deserted. Many bayous empty their waters into Black river, all rising in the Mississippi swamp, and at high water communicating with that noble stream. The largest is bayou Crocodile, which comes out of lake Concordia: when its current is considerable, the largest kind of canoes, have navigated it to Black river.

The Washita is navigable for steam boats of any burthen during six or eight months in the year, as far as the town of Monroe, a distance of about two hundred and forty miles from its mouth, or as it is there called the mouth of Black river. Steam boats of upwards of one hundred and fifty tons have ascended it



more than two hundred miles above Monroe. From its mouth to the Mississippi, the banks of Red river are low, and during high water offer nothing to the eye but an immense sea covered with forests.

The features of the country, west of Washita river, are very different from those of the eastern side: between Washita and Red river, extensive pine hills, some of which are several hundred feet high, cover the surface of the earth, nearly as far south as the mouth of Little river, with the exception of the bottoms of creeks; some of which are fertile and above inundation—others, chiefly near their mouth, covered with water at every great swelling of the stream. On that side, the Mississippi has no effect; no power, there ceases its dominion, except occasionally when at the highest stage, it recedes on Red river, and Black river, and consequently such of their tributary streams, the entrance of which are situated low enough to be affected by this retrograde motion. Such is Little river, which runs through a lake called Catahoula, almost dry at low water, and which could be navigated by crafts of heavy burthen, when the adjacent low land is inundated. That river has its head waters about thirty mile south of the 33d degree of N. latitude; its northernmost branch originates at 32 degrees and 35 seconds; it then takes the name of Dogdemene and forms the boundary between Washita and Natchitoches parishes. It retains that name to its junction with the bayou or rather creek Castor, thence it is called Little river. In the same manner as the Tensa, Washita and Little river, uniting at one point, form Black river.

The country, through which Little river (some times called Catahoula river) runs, wears not a uniform aspect, sometimes reaching between hills bluffs and banks, then strongly dragging its waters through

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lands inundated from one and a half to three miles on each side; in some instances, it flows through rich bottoms, not subject to inundation. Its navigation could be easily improved, and no doubt will be so, when its banks are more thickly settled.

Several large creeks flow between Washita and Little river, formed by innumerable branches, a great proportion of which are never failing springs; they only swell by rains: the water running with rapidity from the hills, subsides a few hours after the rain ceases. But few countries can boast of being better supplied with good water than the tract bounded north by the 33d degree of latitude west, by the Dogdemene, south by Catahoula lake and Little river, and east by the Washita river. That country is covered with hills, some of which are very good land, especially about the head waters of bayou D'Arbonne a large creek, which empties into the Washita about seven miles above Monroe. Between its mouth and that place, the bayou Siard, has its entrance into the river. It may not be amiss to observe here in order to find the true meaning of the words bayous and creeks, in the state of Louisiana; the early French settlers in Louisiana called bayous, small bays; any water course, which at its mouth and even higher up did appear like stagnating water, was called, bayou, a diminutive of bay. The appellation would be correctly given to all water courses, having hardly any current, or the current of which would run some times to, and some times from, the river; as it is the case with a great many in this section of the state. When the river is lower than the low lands, those bayous run into the river: when those lands are dry and the river rising, they run from it with equal velocity. Those low lands are like reservoirs; did they not exist, lower Louisiana could not be inhabited; it

would yet be part of the dominion of the sea; they retain an immense quantity of water, which could be calculated, had we an accurate map of the state, showing minutely all the land overflowed and to what depth. The name of creek could be given (although its true signification is nearly the same as the one expressed by bayou before) to all water courses running with some velocity and always in the same direction. Thus without any further explanation and by the bare inspection of a map, it would be understood, what sort of stream is delineated and even the elevation of the land it runs through. Thus we would say bayou Siard, Barthelemy creek or river, creek D'Arbonne until it meets the overflow, thence bayou D'Arbonne, &c. &c.

The bayou Siard has two entrances, one into Barthelemy, about six miles east from its mouth, the other into Washita river, mentioned before. It runs to and from that river, according to the stage of waters in either stream; it is navigable for barges some distance from the river and could be easily made so for steam boats; on the hills between Washita and Dogdemene, are occasionally very sandy stones, strongly impregnated with oxid of iron, siliceous probably. Plaster of Paris is found at a distance of about ninety miles below Monroe, and near the Washita, a few lime stones are scattered on the hills adjacent to those containing plaster of Paris. In the same vicinity and in the deep curbs formed by the swift running branches, have been found petrified shells of several kinds of bivalves, also of belemita and cornua ammonis.

The land between Catahoula lake, Little river, Black river and the lower part of Red river is almost an uninterrupted overflow, not quite as low as the Mississippi swamp, which is in many instances more than

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twenty feet below high water mark; some lakes or ponds are scattered over that country. Those ponds are nothing more than overflowed land, without any timber. Several inundated (at high water) prairies more elevated than these ponds, are met with in this section of the state, always near the rivers, and often on their banks, particularly in the lower parts of Washita and Bœuf rivers. Prairies never covered with water and bordering the banks of Washita higher up, existed formerly, such as prairie de Lait, (yet considerable) prairie du Manoir, de Brin d'amour, des Chicots, des Canots, (where Monroe is built) (names all nearly forgotten) prairie Chatellerault, prairie Bonde, on Barthelemy river. These are now cultivated, or covered with timber; a circumstance which never fails taking place as soon as the borders of the prairies are settled. Those named Merrouge, Galleer, Jefferson, alias 4th Prairie, are situated far from the river, about east north east, thirty miles from Monroe. Higher up, on the bayou Barthelemy, are several prairies of high but not first rate land; they are not yet inhabited. In the parish of Catahoula, the prairie of that name about fifteen miles south west from Catahoula courthouse, called also Harrisonburg, is some time inundated. It seems to have been formerly part of the lake of the same name. Prairie des Bois, south south east from Monroe, nine miles distant, is also subject to inundation. Another kind of prairie not so necessary, are those found on the summit of the hills—prairie des Cotés is one of that description. It lies almost due south, rather westerly, from Monroe, distant thirty-six miles in a straight course; the land there is poor, but, like those mentioned above afford very good pasturage for cattle. The direction of the hills between Washita and Dogdemene is rather from north to south, as far as bayou Castor; they after-

wards generally run from east to west. The valleys, which separate them, are evidently the work of the water courses, the directions of which are always from about north to south, the hills appearing to follow that course, are at the lowest end but very short, and at a bird's eye view, have the appearance of having been thrown together in that manner by the waves of the sea, which probably, at some remote period, rolled over this whole tract of country.

The settlements of Opelousas are separated from those of Red river, by a ridge of piny and sterile hills. These are succeeded by extensive prairies, which continue, without any important interruption, as far as the sea. They are almost entirely destitute of trees, except along the water courses: so much so, that when a cluster of trees is accidentally met with, it is called an island. The facility these prairies offer in raising cattle, had induced the original settlers of Opelousas and Attakapas to prefer the pastoral to the agricultural life. Those who followed them, were invited by rich spots of land on the water courses, to the cultivation of indigo and afterwards cotton, besides corn, rice and other provisions.

The town, near the parochial church of Opelousas, dedicated to St. Landry, has not the advantage of standing upon navigable water; and this circumstance has contributed to check its growth. It has a branch of the Louisiana bank.

At a few miles below it, is a convent of nuns, the inmates of which devote themselves to the education of young persons of their sex. This establishment is a new one, and entirely due to the piety of a lady of the neighbourhood.

The upper part of the settlements of Attakapas, which lie between Opelousas and the sea, differ very little from the former. Emigrants from the other

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states, having settled on the land near the sea, have given themselves to the culture of the sugar cane, and meet with great success.

There are two towns in the Attakapas—St. Martinsville and Franklin, on the river Teche, which rises in the Opelousas. The first, though not considerable, has a weekly gazette, and a branch of the state bank, a church and the other public buildings of the parish. The other is as yet an embryo.

The Spaniards made an abortive attempt to establish a town, called New Iberia, about sixteen miles below St. Martinsville.

The prairies in this part of the state are not natural ones: they owe their origin to the Indian practice of setting fire to dry grass during the fall and winter, in order that the tender herbage, in the spring, may attract game; this destroys young trees and the prairie annually gains on the woodland, as long as the practice prevails. When it ceases, the woodland gains on the prairie.

To the west is a collection of houses on Vermilion river, near the public buildings of the parish of Lafayette.

Towards the sea, near the base of the delta formed by bayou Lafourche and the Mississippi, are a number of lakes, the principal of which are Baratavia and Salvador. Of the streams that fall into the gulf, west of the mouth of the Mississippi, the most important are Latourche, Achafalaya, Teche, Mentao, Calcasu and Sabine.

All the space between these streams, near the gulf, is interspersed with trembling prairies, lagoons and numerous bayous. There are, however, many spots of high ground; but the difficulty of access and distance from inhabited tracts have prevented migration to them.

The Teche has its source in the prairies, in the upper part of the settlements of Opelousas and, during the season of high water, flows partially into the Courtableau. As it enters the settlements of Attakapas, it receives from the right side bayou Fusilier, which bayou Bourbeux connects with Vermillion river. A little more than twenty miles farther, it passes before the town of St. Martinsville and reaches, fifteen miles after, the spot on which the Spaniards, soon after the cession, made a vain attempt to establish a city to which the name of New Iberia was destined; twenty miles, from the mouth of the Teche, is the town of Franklin.

Above St. Martinsville, cotton is universally cultivated on the banks of the Teche: below it, are a number of sugar plantations, which succeed remarkably well. The low price of cotton has of late induced many of the planters to attempt the culture of the cane, above St. Martinsville, even as high as bayou Bœuf.

On the east of the Teche and between that stream and the Achafalaya, is Prairie Grand Chevreuil occupying the ground beyond the reach of inundation. On the opposite side, and to the east of Vermillion river is the Attakapas prairie; the land of which, especially on the banks of the latter stream, is of good quality and well adapted to the culture of sugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco and corn.

The Vermillion river has its source in the upper part of the Opelousas settlements: between it and the Mentao is the Opelousas prairie, which is more extensive, than the two just mentioned; being about seventy-five miles in length and twenty-five in breadth. Its direction is S. W. to N. E. It affords an extensive range for cattle.

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separating the settlements of Red river from those of Opelousas. These streams are nearly parallel to the Vermilion and Sabine. The land on their banks is of less fertility than near the Mississippi. Agricultural establishments are rare, and the few settlers confine their attention to raising cattle.

At the mouth of Sabine river, where the western boundary of the State begins, the country exhibits a wild state of desolation. A line of shell banks extends along the shores of the lake, into which the river expands, at the distance of twenty miles from its mouth; they are covered with trees of a stunted growth. The country around is a morass to the distance of twenty miles above the lake.

The whole coast from the Mississippi to the Sabine, as from the former stream to Pearl river, is low and swampy, and except in a very few places indeed, can only be approached through the water courses.

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**HISTORY**  
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**CHAPTER I.**

*Discovery of America.—Charles VIII.—Henry VII.—Ferdinand and Isabella.—Cabot.—Prima vista.—Lewis XII.—Denys.—Aubert.—Gulf of St. Lawrence.—Indians carried to France.—Henry VIII.—Francis I. Ponce de Leon.—Florida.—The Baron de Levy.—Sable Island.—Vasquez de Aillon.—Velasquez.—Veranzany.—Narvaez.—Apalachians.—The peace of Cambray.—Cartier.—River of St. Lawrence.—Hernandez de Soto.—Chickasaws.—Alabamas.—Mobilians.—Choctaws.—The Mississippi.—Red River.—Robertval.—Canada.—Luis de Muscoso.—Los Vaqueros.—Edward VI.—Henry II.—Mary.—Philip II. Elizabeth.—Charles IX.—Coligny.—Ribaud.—Caroline.—Albert.—Barré.—Laudonniere.—Sir John Hawkins.—Pedro de Menendez.—St. Augustine.—Destruction of the French Colony.—De Gourgues.—Henry III. Sir Humphrey Gilbert.—Sir Walter Raleigh.—Ocacock.—Virginia.—Sir Richard Grenville.—De la Roche.—Acadie.*

CHARLES the eighth, the seventh monarch of the house of Valois, wielded the sceptre of France, and Henry the seventh that of England, in 1492, when Columbus, under the auspices of Ferdinand of

Aragon and Isabella of Castile, discovered the western hemisphere.

Charles, during a reign of nineteen years, sought military glory, and an extension of territory, in the invasion of Italy. Success, for a while attended his arms, and with the aid of the Pope, he caused himself to be crowned Emperor of Constantinople and King of Naples; but, he was soon driven back, and died in 1496, the fiftieth year of his age, without having ever sought to avail himself of the advantages the discovery of the new world offered. Less ambitious of warlike fame, Henry made an early effort to share them. He fitted out a small fleet, the command of which he gave to Cabot, a Venetian adventurer, settled in Bristol, whom he sent on a voyage of discovery. No historical record informs us of the success of this expedition; but in 1496, this navigator sailed in a ship furnished by the crown and four barques, supplied by the merchants of Bristol. He discovered a large island, to which he gave the name of *Prima vista*, now known by that of Newfoundland and soon after the continent. He sailed southwardly along the coast, as far as the bay of Chesapeake. It is not known that he effected or even attempted a landing, and the ocular possession he took of the country is the origin and basis of the claim of the English nation to all the land in North America, from the Atlantic, to the Pacific Ocean.

Charles the eighth, having left no issue, was succeeded by Louis the twelfth, a distant kinsman; their common ancestor being Charles the seventh, the grandfather of the deceased monarch. Louis continued the war in Italy with the same spirit, and with as little success as his predecessor; and viewed the

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progress of the Spaniards in America with equal unconcern. His subjects, however, extended their industry and their commerce to the new world. In 1504, the Biscayans, the Bretons and the Normans, visited Newfoundland, in quest of fish. Two years after, Denys entered, and made a map of, the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and in 1508, Aubert carried over the first American Indians, who trod the soil of France. The crown of England in the following year, passed, on the death of Henry the seventh, in his fifty second, to his son Henry the eighth.

The southernmost part of the continent of North America, was first discovered by a Spanish adventurer in 1513. Not impelled by avarice or ambition, but led by credulity and chance, Ponce de Leon, believing that the island of Binimi, in the archipelago of Bahama, possessed a fountain, the waters of which had the virtue of repairing the ravages of time on the human frame, sailed from the island of Porto Rico, in search of this renovating stream. A violent storm disappointed his hopes, and threw him on the cape, opposite to the northern side of the island of Cuba. He called the country thus discovered Florida, either from its flowery appearance, or from the circumstance of his having discovered it on Palm Sunday, *Pasqua de Flores*. Erecting a large cross on the beach, he took formal possession in the name of his sovereign, Charles the first of Spain, the grandson of Isabella, the late Queen of Castile. He returned in the following year and landed on the same spot, with a number of his countrymen; but the natives fell on the intruders and killed them all but six, who were grievously wounded. The chief was among the latter. He sailed for the island of Cuba, where he and his five surviving companions died of their wounds.

Louis the twelfth died on the first of January 1515, the fifty third year of his age, without issue. His successor was Francis the first; their common ancestor was the Duke of Orleans, a brother of Charles the sixth.

The first attempt of the French to plant a colony in America, was made in the second year of Francis' reign. A few adventurers of that nation, were led by the Baron de Levy to the small island, in the forty fourth degree of northern latitude, now known as Sable Island, part of the province of Nova Scotia. The spot was most unfavourable; at a great distance from the continent, or any other island; the soil is rocky and sterile. These men were unable to derive their subsistence from it. They suffered much from the cold; many sickened and died. The Baron carried back the survivors to France, leaving some cattle and hogs on the island.

In 1520, Vasquez de Aillon sailed from Hispaniola for the northern continent, with views not quite so unexceptionable as those of Ponce de Leon. His object was to seize some of the Indians, transport them to Hispaniola and sell them to his countrymen, who could not obtain from Africa a sufficient number of negroes to work the mines. He made land on the coast of the present state of South Carolina, near the mouth of a river to which he gave the name of Jourdain, after a man on board of one of his ships, who first descried it; it now bears that of Santee. He was received with hospitality: after staying awhile, and supplying himself with provisions, he invited a number of the natives to a banquet on board of his ships, made them dance at the sound of his trumpets, plying them with abundant doses of ardent spirits. When exercise and ebriety had lulled their senses, he hoisted his sails and

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brought off his unwary guests. Heaven did not allow him to reap the fruits of his treachery. One of the ships perished in a storm. The sturdy captives in the other, for a long while, refused to take any food; the voyage was long, and disease made a great havoc among the Spaniards and the Indians.

Velasquez made another voyage to Florida in 1552, with two ships: he was quite unsuccessful. He lost one of the ships, and the Indians killed a great part of his people.

Veranzany, a Florentine, employed by Francis the first, appears to have been the first navigator, who visited America at the expense of the crown of France. He reached it in the month of March 1524, a little below Cape Hatteras, near the spot on which sixty years after, the first attempt towards English colonization in America was made, under the auspices and at the cost of Sir Walter Raleigh. He sailed up the coast, as far as the fiftieth degree of northern latitude, entered a few of the rivers, had some little intercourse with the aborigines, by whom he was every where friendly received, and returned to France, without any attempt towards a settlement.

He made other voyages, in the two following years, and it is supposed perished in the last.

The misfortunes of Francis, made a prisoner at Pavie, his long captivity in Spain, and his distresses till the peace of Cambray, prevented the execution of the plan he had formed of planting a French colony in the new world.

Pamphilo de Narvaez, having obtained from Charles the first of Spain, the government of all the countries he could discover from Rio de Palma, to the undefined limits of Florida, sailed from the island of Cuba, with four ships and a barque in

March 1528, with four hundred foot and eighty horse. He landed near the bay del Spiritu Santo, called, in modern times, the bay of Tampa. The Indians cheerfully supplied him with corn and other provisions. He landed a part of his force and took solemn possession of the country, in the name of his imperial master. Noticing, at this ceremony, a cymbal of gold, in the hands of an Indian, his hope of securing a large quantity of this metal was greatly excited. He was told that the Apalachians, a nation not far distant, had much of it. Under the influence of the excitement which the information created, he put the shipping under the orders of Cabecade Vacca, with directions to sail along the coast; he landed the rest of his force, and marched up the country the last day of May. On the next, he crossed a river, on the banks of which was a town, where the Indians supplied him with provisions. He ranged the country for several days, without meeting a human being; at last he overtook a chief preceded by men blowing flutes, and followed by a large party. He gave them to understand, he was going towards the Apalachians; the chief told him these Indians were at war with his nation: Narvaez travelled with him to his village, in which he was hospitably entertained. Proceeding, he reached on the 25th the first village of the Apalachians, which consisted of about forty cabins. He took possession of it without opposition, and found corn, venison and skins; but no metal. He sojourned near this village for several days, making occasional excursions into the country; during which, he had frequent skirmishes with the natives, who darted their arrows at his people and hid themselves in the swamps. At last destitute of provisions, seeing nothing but a sterile country and unpassable roads, he determined on

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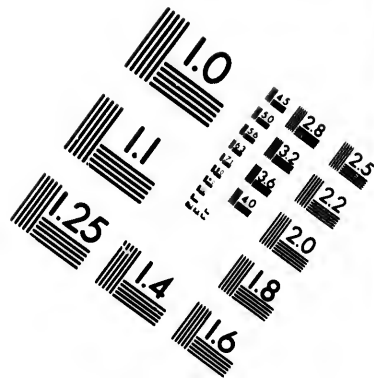
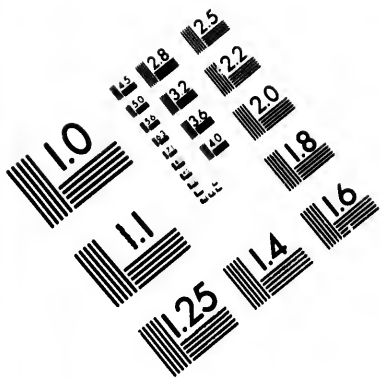
marching towards the sea, and reached Aute, an Indian town, not far distant from the spot on which the Spaniards afterwards erected the fort of St. Mark of the Apalaches. The Indians followed on the flanks of their invaders, harrassing them at times by clouds of arrows. Their countrymen at Aute, strongly defended themselves and killed a number of Spaniards. Cabeca de Vacca approached the coast, and Narvaez and his men took shipping; but the greatest part perished through fatigue, hunger, disease and shipwreck. Those who escaped these complicated disasters, reached Rio de Palma. Narvaez was not among them; his vessel foundered in a storm and he never was heard of.

Francis, having married his rival's sister, and released his sons, detained as hostages in Spain, availed himself of the tranquillity that followed the peace of Cambray, to resume his plan of adding a part of America to his dominions.

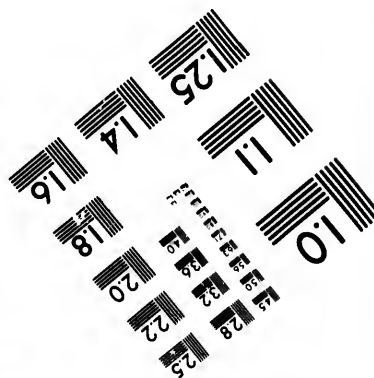
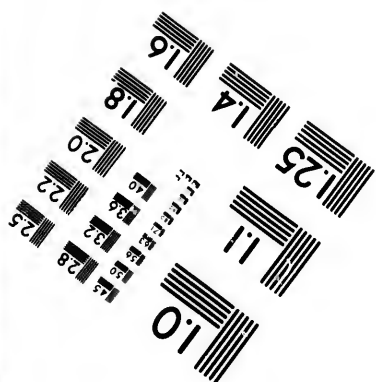
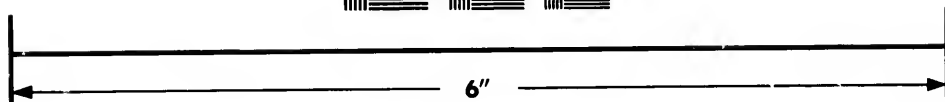
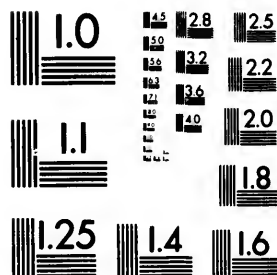
For this purpose, he directed two barques of sixty tons, with one hundred and fifty men, to be fitted out at St. Maloes, and gave the command of them to Cartier, who sailed on the 30th of April 1534. He reached Bonavista in the island of Newfoundland in twenty days, crossed the gulf and entered a bay, which from the extreme heat at the time, he called Chaleur bay; it is a little to the south of the mouth of the river St. Lawrence. Two sailors (the wretched remnant of the crew of a Spanish ship, which had been wrecked there) were wandering on the beach, when Cartier's boat approached. The French inquired what country they were in; one of the Spaniards, who, being pressed by hunger, imagined he was asked whether there was any thing to eat, replied, *Aca nada*; "there is nothing here." The French in the boat, on returning to Cartier,







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told him the Spaniard said the country was called *Canada*. Cartier visited several parts of the gulf, and took possession of the country for the crown of France.

The king, on the return of Cartier, ordered a new expedition, consisting of three ships; the largest, commanded by Cartier, was of one hundred and twenty tons; they sailed on the 19th of May 1535. On reaching the continent, Cartier was obliged by stress of weather, to put into a port which he called St. Nicholas. He gave the name of St. Lawrence to the gulf and the river; leaving the two small vessels at the mouth of the stream, he proceeded to an Indian town called Hochelaga, near the spot on which the city of Montreal now stands. The friendly reception the Indians gave him, induced him to send for the vessels he had left, and to build a number of cabins, which he surrounded with a strong palisado, that might enable him to resist a sudden attack; and he made other preparations to winter there. The season proved extremely severe, and the scurvy broke out among his men; he was himself attacked by it. Twenty-five of his people had already perished, and two alone escaped the disease, when a specific remedy was pointed out by the Indians, in a decoction of the bark of the *Abies Canadensis*, (the Canadian fir.) Eight days after it had been resorted to, Cartier found all his men perfectly recovered. Some who had been afflicted with another disease, and had been but partially cured, were perfectly restored to health by the use of this specific. In the spring, Cartier brought back such of his men as the fell disorder had spared; but nothing more was done in Francis' reign, towards the settlement of a French colony in America.

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the government of St. Yago de Cuba to Hernandez de Soto, with permission to prosecute the discovery of, and subjugate, Florida; and on the twelfth of May of the following year, he sailed from the Havana with an army of nine hundred foot and three hundred and fifty horse. The fleet was equipped and the naval and land forces raised and supported at Soto's expense. He had amassed considerable wealth in Peru, in the conquest of which he had accompanied Pizarro. The fleet was delayed by contrary winds, and at last reached the bay in which Narvaez had landed eleven years before. Three hundred men, having landed and marched a short distance, were repelled with great loss. Soto now disembarked his horse and foot, and sent back the large vessels. He proceeded northerly, his march being retarded by frequent interruptions from the natives, who hung on his flanks; and he halted at Herriga, the first town he came to, at the distance of six miles from the shore. He spent some days there, to give time to the baggage to come up and afford some rest to his men, and began his march for the country of the Apalachians, which was at the distance of about four hundred miles. The country was divided into small districts, each governed by a cacique; the chief, the district and its principal town, generally bearing the same name. The town was a collection of from fifty to two hundred houses; surrounded by a strong palisado. Garcilasso de la Vega, in his history of this expedition, has recorded the names of the towns through which Soto passed, from the bay del Spiritu Santo to the Apalachians. They are many, but it is believed the name of none of them corresponds with that of any of the present divisions of the country. Two of the principal dis-

tricts, or provinces, were governed by a female cacique. After advancing into the country, Soto's progress ceased to be obstructed and at several towns he was hospitably received, and obtained abundant supplies of corn and venison. One of the female caciques added to this needed succour, presents of pearls. If we credit Garcilasso, these presents in the quantity and value of the pearls, were immense; they were often as large as hazel nuts and were dealt out by the bushel, except those of the smallest kind, called *seed of pearls*, which were weighed. But this writer speaks of lions in the forests of Florida, and of a number of caciques, who commanded several thousands of warriors. It is believed those who furnished this Indian author with the memoirs on which he wrote, were less fond of truth than of the marvellous.

Several caciques opposed the passage of the Spaniards through the country, but none could resist, with bows and arrows, an army with musketry and artillery. By courtesy, threats and violence, Soto made his way to the country of the Apalachians. There, after taking some rest, a part of his army was sent in strong detachments to reconnoitre the ground; while the rest proceeding south-westerly, reached *Aute*, a town, near the sea shore, which Navaez had visited. There, this party dividing itself in two detachments, one of them marched westerly to Anchusi, another large town, on the spot, on which, about a century and a half after, was built the town of Pensacola; while the latter proceeding at first easterly, then southerly, reached the bay in which the army had landed, from which one of the small vessels was sent to Cuba, with an account of Soto's progress, and to obtain supplies.

The two detachments uniting again at *Aute*.

joined the main body at the Apalachians, where Soto had determined on wintering.

The army resumed its march early in the spring; its direction was at first north-westerly; passing through the back parts of the present state of Georgia, it marched for some time northerly, then north-westerly through the country of the Cherokees, then a large and warlike nation, crossing the present state of Tennessee and proceeding to that of Kentucky, as high up as the thirty seventh degree of northern latitude. It marched thence south-westerly to the bay of Mobile. Of the Indians thus visited by Soto, the Tuscaloosas, Mobilians and Alabamans, are the only ones who, at this day retain their names. The Mobilians made a furious resistance, but were at last overpowered. Garcilasso reckons they lost in several skirmishes, a pitched battle and the defence of their principal town, upwards of eleven thousand men, and that more than one thousand women were burnt in a single house. Soto, having subdued the Mobilians, gave one month's rest to his army; then continued his march to the Chickasaws, among whom he wintered.

A party of these Indians attacked him at night, in the latter part of January following, by torch light. The torches were formed of a grass, which made into a rope, takes and retains fire like a match. The Chickasaws darted arrows, armed with this grass thus lighted, on the huts of their invaders, principally those used as stables, thus setting the provender on fire; several horses were burnt at their mangers, to which they were made fast with small chains. The Indians, hovering round their enemy, became visible only when they agitated their torches. The musketry, artillery and cavalry, however, soon compelled them to disperse; the Spaniards had forty

men and fifty horses killed in this attack. Soto removed his camp to what he conceived a more defensible spot, about three miles to the west. But notwithstanding his utmost vigilance and the alertness of his men, the army, while it remained in the country of the Chickasaws was incessantly harrassed by hovering parties, and every individual who straggled to any distance from the camp, was almost instantly made a prisoner or killed.

Early in April, Soto marched north-westerly thro' the country of the Choctaws, and the western parts of the present states of Mississippi and Tennessee. He reached the mighty stream, then called by the Indians Cicuaga and now Mississippi, a little below the lowest Chickasaw bluff. Having employed some time in building flats, he overcame without much difficulty the opposition made by the Indians to his crossing it. On the western bank, he proceeded as high up as White River, and then downwards in a circuitous route, to avoid the swampy shore, through the present territory of the Arkansas, to his winter quarters. On the left side of the Mississippi, the Spaniards met with the same reception from the Indians, as on the opposite. At times the natives were confident and friendly, at others reserved, often cruel and treacherous, rarely, though some times, approaching in hostile array.

In the spring, the army proceeded southerly by slow marches; but in the beginning of the summer, fatigue, dearth of provisions, the intense heat and the impure air of the swamps, greatly injured the health of the Spaniards; many sickened and died. At last after long and frequent halts, the army reached the mouth of Red River. Here the chief was seized with a fever, the mortal character of which became manifest in a few days. It was not long before he



became conscious of his situation, and he contemplated approaching dissolution with composure. He appointed Luis Muscoso de Alvarado his successor, calmly conversed with his officers on the most proper movements of the army, had almost all the individuals in it brought to his bed side, received their oaths of fidelity to the future chief, recommended to the men obedience to him, and affection to each other, discipline, unanimity and perseverance. Then, giving his remaining moments to the rites of the church of Rome, expired about the 30th of June.

He was in his forty second year. Ambitious to have his name as conqueror of Florida, in the page of history, between those of Cortez and Pizarro, the conquerors of Mexico and Peru, he spent in this scheme an immense fortune, acquired in the conquest of the latter kingdom, and was the indiscreet cause of the death of the greatest portion of his followers, without any advantage to his country or himself. In republics, as wealth is seldom acquired with great rapidity and ease, and is more generally divided, it is seldom so profusely lavished, and it rarely enables the possessor to command the sacrifice of the lives of men to his ambitious views.

His remains were inclosed in a strong coffin, which was filled with bullets and sunk in the Mississippi, opposite to the mouth of Red River, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Indians.

In the meanwhile, the plan of settling a colony in Canada, though abandoned by the monarch, had been resumed by individuals, in France. Francis de la Roque, Lord of Robertval, a man of considerable influence in the province of Picardy, had solicited Francis the first, to permit him to prosecute the discoveries of Cartier. He had been, by letters patent of the fifteenth of January 1540, created

“ Lord of Norimbegue, Viceroy and Lieutenant-General of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belisle, Carpen, the great bay and Baccaloes.”

The Viceroy, in the following year, sailed with five ships, having taken Cartier as his first pilot. The voyage was prosperous. He built a fort (some say on the river St. Lawrence, others on the island of St. John) of which he gave the command to Cartier. Leaving a good garrison in it, and a barque for the prosecution of Cartier's discoveries, he sailed for France, in search of farther aid for his colony.

Incessantly annoyed by the natives, assailed by disease, and unable to withstand the severity of the weather, the colonists prevailed on their chief, in the following year, to carry them back to France. Near the island of Newfoundland, they met Robertval, who, by solicitations and threats, induced them to return. Having restored order among them, he proceeded up the rivers St. Lawrence and Saguenay to explore their shores. He sent one of his pilots in quest of a north-west passage to China and went back to France.

Muscoso, the successor of Soto in the command of the Spaniards on the Mississippi, conducted the remainder of the army up Red River, through that part of the country now called Natchitoches and Nagadoches, to a nation of Indians, whom from the number of wild cattle he found among them, he called *los vaqueros*; probably, in that part of the country now known as the province of Texas. Proceeding about one hundred miles further, the army reached the foot of a mountainous country. Muscoso had been induced to march this way in the hope of getting to Mexico by land. He now determined, on the account of the distance which he received from the Indians, to retrograde, and float down

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the Mississippi to the sea. The army accordingly marched into winter quarters, at the mouth of Red River.

During the month of January, Muscoso employed his carpenters in the construction of vessels, to convey his men to Mexico. The neighbouring caciques, apprehensive that his views, in going thither, were to apprise his countrymen of the fertility of the land on the Mississippi, and to solicit aid to return and subjugate the Indians, leagued themselves for the purpose of raising a sufficient force to destroy the Spaniards, or at least to set fire to the vessels they were building. Garcilasso relates the league was so general, that the caciques, who entered in it, agreed to raise forty thousand men. The plot, however, became known to some Indian women, who attended the Spanish officers, and was disclosed to Muscoso. The measures he took to defeat it, induced most of the caciques to withdraw from the league. Those who dwelt immediately on the river and their nearest neighbours, persevered in their intention, and collected a considerable number of canoes and pirogues and made rafts, with the view of pursuing the Spaniards down the stream.

On the twenty-fourth of June, the vessels were launched, and soon after the army went on board; hides having been placed around the bows, as a protection against the arrows of the Indians. Out of the twelve hundred and fifty men who were landed at the bay del Spiritu Santo, there remained now but three hundred and fifty, and the three hundred and fifty horses were reduced to thirty. On the second day after their departure, the Indian fleet hove in sight towards noon; Garcilasso says, it consisted of one thousand pirogues, canoes or rafts of various sizes; the largest containing eighty men and

the least having four oars on each side. Each pirogue, was neatly painted in and outside, with blue, red, yellow or white. The oars and feathers, bows and arrows of the warriors in each pirogue, was of the same colour with it. The oars were plied in measure and cadence, the rowers singing to mark the time. The fleet advanced in five divisions, each pouring a volley of arrows, as it passed the Spaniards; the pursuit was continued during ten days, when it was given up. Almost every Spaniard was wounded, and of the thirty horses that were embarked, twenty-two were killed. The Spaniards had been unable to defend themselves, having no longer any powder.

Muscoso perceiving a village near the shore, and concluding he was approaching the sea, deemed it prudent to land one hundred of his men in quest of provisions. As they advanced towards the village, the Indians left it, flying in all directions. The Spaniards found in it abundance of corn, venison and dried fruit. But a part of the Indian fleet, having landed above, a junction was formed between it and the Indians of the village, and they marched down against the Spaniards, who were compelled to return in great haste to their shipping; leaving their horses behind, which the Indians destroyed with their arrows.

Four days after, the Spaniards reached the sea, and sailing slowly along the coast, arrived at Panuco, a port distant about sixty leagues from the city of Mexico.

Garcilasso de la Vega, who has written the best account that has reached us of this expedition, entitles his work the history of the *conquest* of Florida. With as much propriety, an English writer might entitle his memoirs of Sir Edward Pakenham's ex-

pedition in 1498, the history of the *conquest* of Louisiana. Perhaps Garcilasso wrote more as a lawyer than a soldier, and imagining that this burthensome perambulation of the country had acquired a title to the crown of Spain, considered Florida as thereby *acquired*, and called the act an acquisition or conquest. So might the sailing of Cabot in 1498, in a vessel fitted out by Henry the seventh of England, be called the acquisition or *conquest* of the northern continent of America. Although the name was not given, the effect was claimed; and General Hill, in 1711, demanded the surrender of the fortress of Quebec, on the incontestible title, acquired to the crown of England to all North America, by the discovery, or ocular occupation, of the country, by Cabot.

The sceptre of England, on the twenty eighth day of January 1547, passed from the hands of Henry the eighth, in the fifty seventh year of his age, into those of his infant son, Edward the sixth; and that of France, on the thirty first of March following, from those of Francis the first, in his fifty third year, into those of his son, Henry the second. Francis had entirely lost sight of the new world, during the war with England, in the latter part of his reign.

History has not recorded any attempt of Henry the eighth, to extend his dominions to the western hemisphere. English vessels, however, were employed during his reign, in the fisheries of Newfoundland; and, in the reign of his youthful successor, was passed the first English statute, which relates to America. Its object was to repress the extortions of the officers of the Admiralty, who demanded a duty, or part of the profits made on every voyage to Ireland, Iceland or Newfoundland.—2 Ed. vi. 6.

Edward died in 1553, at the age of sixteen, and was succeeded by Mary, his sister.

America does not appear to have attracted the attention of this princess, nor that of Henry the second of France, who prosecuted the war his father had begun with England. At the conclusion of it, he entered into a league with the elector of Saxony and the Margrave of Brandenburg, against Charles the first; but when his antagonist had reconciled himself to his German adversaries, Henry was left to maintain the war alone. Philip the second of Spain, on the abdication of his father in 1556, prosecuted it with great vigor, aided by the English, whose queen he had married.

Mary, who ended her life, on the seventh of November 1558, at the age of forty one, without issue, had for her successor Elizabeth, her sister; and on the 10th of July of the following year, Henry the second died, at the same age, in consequence of a wound he had accidentally received, in a tournament. The wars, that desolated France during almost the whole reign of this prince, were probably the cause that the French made no progress in the new world.

His son and successor, Francis the second, the husband of the unfortunate Mary Stuart of Scotland, reigned but seventeen months, and was succeeded by Charles the ninth, Henry's second son.

In the beginning of Charles's disturbed reign, Admiral Coligny sought in Florida, an asylum for his protestant adherents. He equipped two ships at Dieppe, under the direction of Jean Ribaud, whom he put at the head of a small military force, and a considerable number of colonists. Ribaud weighed anchor, on the eighteenth of February 1562, and made land in the thirtieth degree of northern lati-

tude, near a cape, to which he gave the name of *Cap François*: it is one of the promontories of the estuary on which the town of St. Augustine now stands. He landed on the banks of the river St. Mary, which now separates Georgia from Florida. He called it the river of May, from the circumstance of his entering on the first day of that month. The Indians received him with much hospitality. He erected a column on the banks of the stream, and affixed to it an escutcheon of the armorial of France, in token of his having taken solemn possession of the country. After a short stay, he proceeded northerly to an island, at the mouth of Edisto river, in the present state of South Carolina. He called this stream the great river, a fort which he erected on the island Charles's Fort, or *Arx Carolina*, and the place, before which he anchored, Port Royal; an appellation, which it retains at this day. Having settled his colony around it, he placed Albert at the head of the colonists, and returned to France. Although he had been very friendly received by the natives, he in vain endeavoured to prevail on some of them to accompany him.

Albert visited the Indian tribes near the fort, and found them all disposed to live on the most friendly terms with the whites. These were more anxious to ramble over the country, in search of mines of the precious metals, than to till the earth; and the stock of provisions left by Ribaud, although considerable, was at last exhausted. This chief, on his arrival in France, had found his countrymen distracted by a civil war, and his patron out of favour at court, so that he was unable to procure for the colony the needed supplies he had come after. For awhile, Albert procured relief from the natives; corn and peas were obtained in tolerable abun-

dance; but fire consumed the building in which the succour had been stored. The Indians became unable or unwilling to minister to the encreasing wants of the colonists. The distress, attending the penury that followed, heightened the discontents which the ill conduct or misguided severity of Albert had excited, and the colonists rose against and slew their chief.

Nicholas Barré was called by the insurgents to the supreme command. They had ascertained that there was no gold mine near them, and thought it preferable to return to the old world, than to seek a scanty and precarious subsistence by labour, in the new. Unanimity strengthened their efforts; a vessel was built and corked with Spanish beard; ropes were made of grass, and sails, with the tents, bags and linen cloth that remained; but as famine drove them from the land, the stock of provisions they carried to sea, was not abundant; calms retarded their progress; they were reduced to a scanty ration of eighteen grains of corn a day to each man; and the moment came when there was not a single grain to deal out. Lots were cast, and the wretch pointed out by chance, tamely submitted his neck to the butcher's knife, to appease the hunger of his companions. Soon after this, they were met by an English ship, which enabled them to reach France.

Coligny had been restored to favour, and he did not solicit in vain his sovereign's aid, for the prosecution of his plan to settle a colony in Florida. Three ships were fitted out at Havre de Grace; and Laudonniere to whom the command of them was given, sailed on the twenty second of April, 1564, and landed on the shores of the river St. Mary, near the monument, erected two years before by Ribaud,

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as an evidence of his having taken possession of the country around it, in the name of Charles the ninth.

The Indians manifested great joy, at the arrival of the French, and led Laudonniere to the column. He directed a fort to be built, on the southern bank of the stream, and called the country Caroline, in honor of his king. Parties of his men went in different directions, to explore the country. The Indians, discovering that the precious metals were the main object of the pursuit of the whites, played on their credulity, amused them with fanciful stories and pointed to the westward, as the part of their country, in which mines of gold could be found. No success attended a search for metals; but a ship arrived from France, laden with provisions.

Laudonniere's administration did not please the colonists. A mutiny ensued, but its consequences were not so fatal to the chief, as the former had been to his predecessor. Some of the mutineers possessed themselves of two barques, which Laudonniere had caused to be constructed, and sailed on a piratical cruize down the canal of Bahama, towards the Havana.

On the third of August, in the following year, Sir John Hawkins, a renowned English navigator, visited Caroline, with four vessels. Laudonniere obtained one of them, and made preparations to sail in her for France. He was near his departure, when, on the twenty-fifth a small fleet, was descried approaching the coast. It consisted of seven sail, and was commanded by Ribaud. Complaints against Laudonniere had been made to the King; he was represented as oppressing the men under him, and it had been strenuously urged, that, unless he was recalled, there was much ground to apprehend that the garrison would redress their own wrongs, in the

same manner as the former colonists had redressed theirs. Ribaud was accordingly appointed governor of Caroline, and instructed to send his predecessor home. Contrary winds compelled the fleet to seek shelter successively in the ports of Havre de Grace and Portsmouth; it had sailed from the latter towards the middle of June, and the passage had been tedious. Ribaud had hardly delivered the minister's despatches to Laudonniere, when a Spanish fleet hove in sight.

Philip the second, apprised of the progress of the French in Caroline, had ordered a fleet to be equipped at Cadiz, under the orders of Don Pedro Menendez, for the purpose of destroying their colony. Don Pedro had sailed on the twenty-ninth of June. At the departure of Ribaud from France, notice of the preparations making at Cadiz had reached Paris, and although the object of them was not known, an attack on Caroline was suspected. He was, therefore, instructed, whilst he was charged, to attempt nothing against the rights of the Spanish King, to resist any encroachment, on those of his own sovereign.

Don Pedro landed near the mouth of a stream, which the French had called the river of the dolphins, to which he gave the name of St. Augustine, who, on the day of his arrival was honored in the Romish Church; it is now known by that of St. John. He took formal possession of the country in Philip's name, and gave orders for the immediate erection of a fort. Ribaud thought it best to set sail, and attack the Spanish fleet, before the land forces could be put a shore, and invest the French fort. Leaving therefore a few men with Laudonniere, he took in all the rest, and hoisted sail. A violent storm overtook and dispersed his vessels, and drove

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several of them on shore. In the meanwhile, the Spanish chief had landed his troops and marched towards the fort. He reached it, on the nineteenth of September, before sun rise. The weather was foggy, and the Spaniards were in the fort, while several of the French were still in bed. An immediate slaughter began. But Laudonniere, with a few of his men, effected his escape, on board of a vessel, in which they sailed for France.

Don Pedro now went in quest of Ribaud; he found him at anchor; after a parley of twenty-four hours, the French chief surrendered his vessels and the men under his orders. Two hundred soldiers or sailors, having refused to yield themselves prisoners, escaped during the night, and marched through the woods southerly. Notwithstanding his pledged faith, Don Pedro caused all such of his prisoners as were protestants to be hung or slaughtered. The Catholics, who were in a small number indeed, were spared. The bodies of those who were hung were left on the trees along the shore; and an inscription was set up announcing they were hung "not as French, but as heretics."

Laudonniere's fort was repaired and garrisoned, and it, as well as the river on which it stood, was called San Matheo, after the saint, the festival of which was celebrated in Spain, on the day on which Don Pedro entered the stream.

A strong party was sent after the men, who parted from Ribaud, the night preceding his surrender; they were overtaken at a place, afterwards called by the Spaniards, *Punta de Canaveral*, in the 28th degree of latitude, and made prisoners.

Six hundred French are reckoned to have fallen victims to the cruelty of the Spaniards, whose force, at the end of this tragedy, is said to have been re-

duced to four hundred, who were divided between the forts of San Matheo and St. Augustine.

This is the first act of hostility, between European nations in the new world.

Charles the ninth, took no measure to avenge the murder of his protestant subjects. The apathy of the monarch, of the court and the nation, excited the valiant spirit of Dominique de Gourgues, of Pont Marsan, in the province of Gascony. Having sold his patrimony, aided by two of his friends, he equipped three vessels in the port of Bordeaux, engaged two hundred men to accompany him, and left the Garronne on the second of August 1567. As he approached the river of San Matheo, the Spaniards mistaking his vessels, for some of their nation, fired a salute. De Gourgues, unwilling to undeceive them, returned the compliment, and passed on. He landed at the mouth of the river then called the Seine, now Alatomaha. With the neighbouring Indians, who ran to the shore on the approach of the vessels, came some of Laudonniere's men, who had found a refuge in their towns. By their assistance, De Gourgues was enabled to converse with the natives, who greatly dissatisfied with their new neighbours, offered to join him, if he would dislodge the Spaniards. De Gourgues told them his voyage had not been undertaken with any hostile intention; but, if the Indians desired it, he was ready to assist them in getting rid of their unwelcome neighbours. He was informed that besides the fort at San Matheo and St. Augustin, the Spaniards had a third, which they called St. Helen, at a small distance to the south of the second; and their effective force, in the three, was about four hundred men.

A number of warriors, from the more distant tribes,

came and joined those from the sea shore, who had put themselves under De Gourgues.

The combined army was soon in the neighbourhood of the northernmost fort. De Gourgues sent some of his allies to form a cordon around it, into the woods; he went after them, accompanied by a considerable part of his men, whom he placed as near the edge of the woods as could be, without being seen by the enemy; while the rest of his force, in a small body, approached slowly in front, and halted out of the reach of the artillery of the fort. On their being perceived by the Spaniards, a strong detachment sallied out to attack them. De Gourgues then came forth, placing the detachment between him and the party they expected to attack. They were completely routed. He now turned against the fort, and the Indians contracting the circle, they had formed round it, rushed forward, giving the war whoop. The garrison, intimidated by this unexpected manœuvre, became an easy prey. A great carnage ensued. A few Spaniards flew to the woods, where they were pursued and despatched by the Indians. De Gourgues had the survivors hung on trees along the shore, with an inscription announcing they were thus treated "not as Spaniards, but as murderers."

De Gourgues next marched against St. Augustine, and the other fort; there were but fifty men in each; they surrendered, and were not ill treated. The buildings were burnt and the forts dismantled.

The French being too few in number to hold possession of the country, De Gourgues brought them back to France. He was obliged to conceal himself to avoid falling a victim to the resentment of Philip II., who offered a large price for his head, and whose Ambassador, at Paris, demanded that he should be punished, for having waged war against a

prince in amity with his own sovereign. Thus are often the most heroic, useful and disinterested services, that an individual renders to his country, not only unrewarded, but the source of chagrin, distress and misery. *Sic vos, non vobis.*

During the remainder of the reign of Charles the ninth, the kingdom was distracted by the struggles of the Condes, the Guises and the Colignys; so that the re-establishment of the French colony in Florida, was not attempted. Charles died on the thirtieth of May 1574, at the age of twenty-four, and was succeeded by his brother, Henry the third.

Elizabeth of England, who during her long reign, saw the crown of France on the heads of five kings, does not appear to have thought of the new world, till 1578. On the eleventh of June of that year, she authorised Sir Humphry Gilbert, by letters patent, to discover and take possession of such remote, heathen and barbarous countries, as were not possessed by any christian prince or people.

Sir Humphry was not successful in his attempt. He made no settlement, and his country gained no advantage, but the formal possession which he took of the island of Newfoundland. In his pursuit of farther advantages, he lost his fortune and his life.

Henry the third does not appear to have turned his attention towards the western hemisphere, till the ninth year of his reign; when he granted to the Marquis de la Roche, the powers which the Marquis de Robertval had enjoyed under Francis the first, and which Henry the second had granted to the former, who had been prevented by the distresses of the times to avail himself of them. The grant is of the twelfth of January 1583. It states that the king, in compliance with the wishes of his predecessor, appoints the Marquis, his Lieutenant-General

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in Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, Labrador, the river of the great bay, (St. Lawrence) Norembeque and the adjacent country.

The condition of the grant is, that the grantee shall have in particular view, the extension of the catholic faith. His authority is declared to extend over persons in the land and sea service. He is to appoint the captains and officers of the ships, and they are to obey him; he is authorised to press ships and to raise troops, declare war, erect fortifications and towns, baronies, earldoms and fiefs of less dignity, to enact laws and punish those who break them. The exclusive commerce of the country is granted him, and he is empowered, in case of death, or sickness, to appoint, by will or otherwise, one or more lieutenants, in his stead.

The success of the grantee did not correspond to the extent of his powers. Desirous of visiting the country, over which they were to be exercised, he fitted out a ship. The island of Sable, on which the Baron de Levy had stopped in 1508, was the first land he saw. He left on it forty wretches, whom he had taken out of the prisons of Paris. A Spanish ship had lately been cast on it; the timber, these men took from the wreck, enabled them to build huts. The cattle and sheep left by the baron had greatly multiplied, and afforded them meat. The Marquis from thence proceeded to the continent, and explored the shores of the country, which was after called Acadie, and now Nova Scotia. He returned to France and died, without having been able to advance his interest or that of his country, by his grants.

Sir Humphry Gilbert had a half brother, who makes a most conspicuous figure, in the history of the new world, and of England—Sir Walter Raleigh, who had taken an interest in the expedition that

followed the grant. To him, the Queen granted a new one, on the twenty-sixth of March, 1584. Within a month from that day, the grantee equipped two vessels, which reached the northern continent of America, on the coast of the present state of North Carolina. They entered Pamlico sound, by Occock inlet, and proceeded to Roanoke island. A short time was spent in exploring the country, and trafficking with the natives.

On the return of the adventurers, their report greatly excited the hopes of their patron. The new discovered country was called Virginia, in honor of the maiden queen, and Sir Richard Grenville was despatched, to convey thither a small colony, which Sir Walter abundantly supplied with provisions, arms and ammunition.

Sir Richard landed one hundred and eight colonists, whom he left under the orders of Ralph Lane, after having visited the barren shores of Albemarle and Pamlico sounds.

The English, like the French in Caroline, instead of employing their time in the tillage of the soil, wasted it in the search after ores. The stock of provisions brought over, not being renewed by agriculture, was exhausted; and the colonists scattered themselves along the shore, in small parties, with the hope of finding a precarious subsistence in fishing and hunting. Sir Francis Drake, returning in the following year from a successful expedition against the Spaniards, (the first act of hostility of England against Spain, in the new world) visited Virginia; and at first determined on adding one hundred men to those under Ralph Lane, and leaving one of his vessels with them; but, at last, at their request, he took him and his men on board of his fleet and carried them back to England.

Sir Richard arrived some time after, with three-



vessels. Finding the country deserted, and desirous of keeping possession of it, he left as many of his men as he could spare, fifty in number, on Roanoke island. Some time after his departure, these men were massacred by the natives.

The ill success of Sir Walter Raleigh's attempt, did not discourage him. He fitted out three ships, in which a number of colonists embarked; some women accompanied them; an ample supply of provisions was provided, and John White was placed at the head of the colony, with twelve assistants, who were to act as his council. On reaching the island of Roanoke, in the latter part of July 1587, they erected cabins for their accommodation during the winter, and made preparations for a crop in the spring, and in the following year, their chief crossed the Atlantic to solicit further aid from the knight.

On his reaching England, he found the nation in great alarm, at the formidable preparations of the King of Spain for the invasion of the country, and Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Richard Grenville, too much engaged, in providing the means of defending their country, to attend to the affairs of Virginia. Sir Walter, at last, assigned his patent to a company of merchants, at the head of whom was John Smith.

On the first of August 1589, Henry the third of France fell, in his thirty-ninth year, under the knife of Jacques Clement, a fanatic priest.

Ninety-six years had rolled away since the discovery of America, at the death of Henry, the last Monarch of the house of Valois. The French, the Spaniards and the English had made a number of attempts at colonization, on the northern continent; yet, besides a few soldiers, whom the Spaniards had sent to garrison fort St. Augustine, the few colonists left by John White on Roanoke island, and the

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forty, by the Marquis de la Roche, on Sable island, there was not an European, living under his national flag in North America, the northern part of which was now known to Europe under the appellation of Canada, the middle by that of Virginia, and the southern by that of Florida.

*Garcilasso de la Vega.*—*Laet.*—*Purchas.*—*Charlevoix.*—*Marshall.*

## CHAPTER II.

*The Bourbons.—Henry IV.—Philip III.—Pontgrave and Chauvin.—Trois rivieres.—Gosnold.—Cape Cod. James I.—Commandeur de la Chatte.—Champlain.—Hochelaga.—Dumontz.—Acadie.—Port Rossignol.—Port Mouton.—Penobscot.—Pentagoet.—Port Royal. Poutrincourt.—Earls of Southampton and Arundel.—Captain Weymouth.—Ill success of a colony sent to Acadie.—Pontgrave sails with the colonists for France; he is met by Pontgrave and returns.—The Marchioness of Guercheville.—James' patents to the northern and southern companies.—Abortive effort of the northern.—First attempt of the southern.—James Town.—Quebec. Expedition against the Iroquois.—Henry Hudson.—Chauvin.—New France.—Prosperous state of the colony.—Second expedition against the Iroquois.—Louis XIII.—Jesuits sent to Acadie.—Lake Champlain.—Nova Belgica.—New Amsterdam.—Lascausie.—Acadie.—La Heve.—Port Royal.—Becancourt.—St. Sauveur.—Argal drives the French from Acadie.—The Earl of Soissons.—Prince of Condé.—Montreal.—Company of St. Maloes.—New England.—Third expedition against the Iroquois.—They murder three Frenchmen, and plot the destruction of the colony.—Brother Pacific.—Marshal of Montmorency.—New Plymouth.—Philip IV.—Sir William Alexander.—First irruption of the Iroquois.—William and Edward de Caen.—Fort of Quebec.—Jesuits sent to Canada.—Charles I.—Swedish Colony.—Company of New France.—Kertz.—Capture of a French fleet.—Famine and dissensions.—The capture of Quebec.—Sir Robert Heath.—Carolana.—New Hampshire.—Peace of St. Germain.—Canada and Acadie restored.*

AT the death of Henry the third, the house of Valois became extinct. Its princes had occupied the French throne, for two hundred and sixty-one years; the first king of that branch, having been Philip VI., who succeeded to Charles V. Henry of Bourbon, was the nearest, tho' a very distant, kinsman of the deceased monarch; their common ancestor being Louis IX., more commonly called St. Louis, who died in 1226.

The assignees of Sir Walter Raleigh's patent, in March 1590, fitted out three ships, in which White embarked for Virginia. So much time was lost in a fruitless cruize against the Spaniards, that these vessels did not reach their destination till the month of August. The colonists, whom White had left on Roanoke island, three years before, were no longer there, and every effort to discover them was fruitless. No other attempt was made to find them, and the period and manner of their perishing was never known.

A French vessel came to Sable Island, for the forty wretches, whom de la Roche had left there. Twenty-eight had perished; the survivors were taken back to France.

Henry the fourth, the first king of France of the house of Bourbon, did not obtain at once the peaceable possession of the throne. He had been bred a protestant, and the catholics suspected the sincerity of his attachment to their faith, which he had embraced. He confirmed his power by the victories of Arque and Ivry, and to silence all opposition, pronounced his abjuration, and his adherence to the catholic faith, in St. Denys, before his coronation, and in the following year, the fifth since his predecessor's demise, the city of Paris opened its gates to him.

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On the thirteenth of September 1598, the crown of Spain, by the death of Philip the second, in the seventy-second year of his age, passed to his son, Philip the third. The revolution, which severed the Spanish provinces in the low countries, from the dominions of Spain, began in the latter part of the reign of the deceased monarch; and the war, which ended in the beginning of the next, left the house of Nassau, in possession of these provinces. The loss of territory, thus sustained, was followed in the latter part of the life of Philip III., by a considerable diminution of population, through the ill advised expulsion of the Moors.

The attention of Henry the fourth, nor that of his subjects, does not appear to have been drawn to America, till many years after his accession. Pontgrave, an experienced navigator of St. Maloes, who had for several years traded to Tadoussac, on the northern shore of the river St. Lawrence, at a short distance below the spot on which the city of Quebec has since been built, and Chauvin, a captain of the king's ships, who had obtained a patent, nearly similar to that of the Marquis de la Roche, made a voyage to Canada, in 1602. They proceeded up the river St. Lawrence, as far as the place, on which the city of Trois Rivieres now stands, where Pontgrave, wished to begin a settlement; but Chauvin, more anxious of promoting his interest, by traffic with the Indians, than that of his country, by planting a colony, refused his consent. A few men, however, were left at Tadoussac, who would have perished, if the Indians had not relieved them.

The English now kept pace with the French, in their endeavours to make a settlement in the new world. Bartholomew Gosnold, a bold navigator, departed from Falmouth, with thirty two men in a

barque, and sailing as nearly west as possible, made the continent on the eleventh of May of the same year, towards the forty-third degree of northern latitude. He gave the names, which they still bear, to Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard and Elizabeth Islands, in the present state of Massachusetts; but no account has reached us of his leaving any person behind. Indeed, the small number of men he took out, precludes any idea of it.

On the third of May 1603, Queen Elizabeth died in the seventieth year of her age, without issue, and was succeeded by James VI. of Scotland, the son of the unfortunate Mary Stuart.

At the accession of the House of Stuart to the throne of England, there was not a single individual of the English or French nation in North America, living under the protection of his national flag.

The Commander de la Chatte, who had acquired the rights of Chauvin, formed a company, chiefly composed of merchants of Rouen, to whom were joined several persons of distinction. It prepared an expedition, the command of which was given to Pontgrave, to whom Henry the fourth had granted letters patent, authorising him to make discoveries and settlements, on the shores of the river St. Lawrence. Samuel de Champlain, an experienced seaman, who makes a conspicuous figure in the history of the new world, accompanied him. They sailed in 1603.

After a short stay at Tadoussac, they left the shipping there; and proceeded, in a light boat, with five sailors to the rapids of St. Louis, or the Indian town of Hochelaga, which Cartier had visited sixty-eight years before. They carried on some traffic with the natives, and joining the shipping, returned to France.

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Their patron, the Commander de la Chatte, had died during their absence, and his powers had been vested by the king, in Pierre de Guard, Sieur du Monts, to whom had also been granted the exclusive trade, in furs and peltries from the 40th to the 50th degree of north latitude, with the authority of granting land, as far as the 46th. He was also created Vice Admiral, and Lieutenant-General over that extent of country. He was allowed the free exercise of his religion (the Calvinist) in America, for himself and his people. He covenanted to settle the country, and establish the Roman Catholic religion among the Indians.

The grantee fitted out four vessels, one of which was intended for the fur trade, at Tadoussac. Pontgrave was directed to proceed with another to Canceaux, to sail through the canal between Royal Island and that of St. John, and to drive interlopers away. Dumontz intended to go to Acadie, with the other two.

The expedition left Havre de Grace, the seventh of May 1604. In the following month, Dumontz entered a port of Acadie, in which he found a vessel trading, in violation of his exclusive privilege; he confiscated it, and gave the name of Rossignol (that of his master) to the port. He proceeded to another place, to which he gave the name of Port Mouton, from the circumstance of a sheep being drowned there. He landed his men here, and staid one month, while Champlain was exploring the coast. They afterwards proceeded to an island, to which the name of St. Croix was given. They there committed some wheat to the ground, which succeeded amazingly.

During the winter, the French suffered much for want of water. The difficulty they found in procur-

ing a supply from the continent, induced them to use melted snow. This brought on the scurvy, which made great havock among them. As soon as the weather grew moderate, Dumontz went in search of a more favourable spot. He sailed along the coast, and up the rivers Penobscot and Pentagoct. Unable to find a suitable place, he returned to the island, where he was soon met by Pontgrave. Despairing of success there, he moved his men to Port Royal. Pontgrave was so delighted with the place, that he solicited and obtained from Dumontz a grant of it, which was afterwards confirmed by the king.

More attentive to acquire wealth by a trade in furs and peltries, than a subsistence by the culture of the soil, Pontgrave derived but little advantage from his grant.

In the autumn, Dumontz returned to France. The complaints of the merchants of Dieppe and St. Maloes, who represented his privilege as destructive of the fisheries, from which these cities derived great advantages, induced the king to revoke it. Undismayed by this untoward event, he prevailed on Poutrincourt to fit out a ship for the relief of the colonists, at Port Royal.

Acadie, had in the meanwhile, attracted the attention of the English. The earls of Southampton and Arundel fitted out a ship, the command of which they gave to Weymouth. He sailed from the Downs on the thirtieth of March 1605, and after a passage of forty-four days, reached the continent between the forty-first and forty-second degrees of north latitude; coasting it northerly, he entered the river Penobscot, and ascended it upwards of sixty miles. The plans of his employers, were not agricultural; the discovery of mines of the precious metals, and the purchase of furs and peltries, were the objects they had in view. After trafficking for awhile with



the Indians, and setting up crosses (in token of his having taken possession of the country) in different parts of the banks of the river, he returned to England, carrying thither a Sagamore and five other chiefs.

The ship, which Dumontz had induced Poutrincourt to fit out for Acadie, left La Rochelle, on the twelfth of May 1606; her passage was tedious. Left so long without assistance, the colonists began to despair. Pontgrave had used in vain his best efforts, to inspire them with confidence and patience. At last, unable to withstand their clamours any longer, he embarked with them for France; leaving behind two men only, who willingly remained in the fort, to preserve the property, which the smallness of the only vessel he could procure prevented him from carrying away. He had not left sight of French bay, when he met a barque, by which he was informed of the arrival of Poutrincourt, at Canceaux. This induced him to retrograde, and on re-entering Port Royal, he found there Poutrincourt, who had passed between the continent and the island of Cape Breton.

Abundance being thus restored to the colony, the chiefs gave their undivided attention to its security. Fortifications were erected, and land inclosed and cultivated. Employment checked idleness and its consequence, disease; the friendship of the natives was secured, and the colony began to thrive. Dumontz' affairs in France, had not been equally prosperous. He was unable to recover his privilege, and received a very trifling indemnification. He was at last permitted to exercise it, during one year; at the expiration of which, it was to be enjoyed by the Marchioness of Guercheville, a lady of great distinction, at the court of France; but, this favour was

burdened with the obligation of making a settlement on the banks of the St. Lawrence. His former friends had not abandoned him; but their object was not colonization, but traffic with the Indians. They fitted out two ships, which they placed under the orders of Champlain and Pontgrave, who were sent to trade at Tadoussac.

In the meanwhile, a plan had been adopted in England, under the auspices of James the first, which was the origin of the extension of his dominions to the western hemisphere. Letters patent had been issued on the tenth of May 1606, granting to Sir Thomas Gates and his associates, the territories in America, lying on the coast, between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees, either belonging to the king, or not possessed by any christian prince or people. The grantees were divided into two companies:

The southern was required to settle between the 34th and 41st, and the northern between the 38th and 45th. But neither was to settle within one hundred miles from any establishment made by the other.

The northern company fitted out a vessel the same year; but she was taken by the Spaniards, who claimed the exclusive right of navigating the American seas. During the next, they sent two vessels, in which were embarked about two hundred colonists, who were landed near Sagadahoc, in the fall. They erected a small fortification, to which they gave the name of Fort George. The winter was extremely severe. The leader, and some of the principal colonists, fell victims to the diseases, which the great cold produced. The rest, hearing of the death of their most influential patron, by the vessel that brought them provisions in the spring, returned to England quite dispirited.

The southern company was more fortunate. Its first expedition consisted of a vessel of one hundred and twenty tons, and two barques, which besides their crews, carried one hundred and fifty colonists. The command of it was given to Newport. It sailed from the Thames, on the nineteenth of December 1606, and did not enter the bay of Chesapeake, till the seventeenth of April following. It proceeded up the river, then called Powhatan, but to which Newport gave the name of James river, on the shores of which, was laid the foundation of the oldest town of English origin, now existing in the new world; it was called James Town. St. Augustine in Florida, and Port Royal in Acadie, now Annapolis of Nova Scotia, are the only towns on the northern continent, which, in point of antiquity, rightly claim the precedence of it.

About fifteen months after, on the third of July 1608, Champlain laid, on the northern shore of the St. Lawrence, the foundation of the city of Quebec, at the distance of three hundred and sixty miles from the sea. The place was called by the Indians Quebeco, a word indicating a narrowed place; the width of the stream there diminishing from three to one mile, while about thirty miles below, it expands to twelve and fifteen.

Champlain was joined here, in the spring, by Pontgrave. Parties of the Hurons, Algonquins and Montagnez, were preparing for an expedition against the Iroquois, and he was induced to accompany them. He imagined, that aided by these three nations, who were numerous, and had a strong interest to unite with him, he would be able successively to subdue all others; but he was ignorant that the Iroquois, who kept in awe every Indian, within a circle of three hundred miles, were about to be sup-

ported by an European nation, jealous of the progress of his own in Canada.

This year Henry Hudson, an English seaman, in the service of the Dutch East India Company, sent to seek a northwest passage to China, discovered the river which still bears his name, tho' sometimes called the North river, and now separates the states of New York and New Jersey.

Champlain, ascending the St. Lawrence, entered the river, to which the name of Sorel was afterwards given, in the company of his red allies. They went up this stream, as far as its rapids, near the place now called Chambly. Here, finding it impossible to proceed farther in their boats, they marched along the shore; the Indians bearing on their shoulders their bark canoes, which alone could now be of any use.

A few days after, towards sun set, they perceived the camp of the Iroquois. The allied army, having taken some slight precaution, went to rest. Before dawn, Champlain placed two Frenchmen in the woods, that they might, as soon as light beamed, fall on the flank of the enemy. The Algonquins and Hurons were divided into two bands. All were armed as the foe, with bows and arrows; but great reliance was placed in the fire-arms of the French, to whom it was recommended to take good aim at three Iroquois chiefs, whom high feathers, decorating their heads, rendered conspicuous.

The Algonquins and Hurons advanced side by side, till within one hundred and fifty yards from the Iroquois; they then opened, and the French, rushing between, poured in their fire. Two of the obnoxious leaders of the enemy, who had been designated to the French, fell; the third was wounded. The Algonquins and Hurons yelled and discharged volleys of

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arrows, while the French gave a second fire. This put the enemy to flight; he was pursued; several of his men were killed, and a greater number made prisoners. The victors lost none of their men; about fifteen were wounded, but not one dangerously. A large supply of provisions was found in the enemy's camp, of which the pursuers were in much need.

Champlain returned, with his allies, to Quebec, where Pontgrave soon after arrived. They sailed together for France, leaving the command of the colony to Pierre Chauvin.

Henry the fourth was much pleased with the account Champlain gave him of the settlement on the St. Lawrence, and gave to his American dominions the name of New France. Dumontz was then at court, using his best efforts, especially with the Marchioness of Guercheville, to recover his privilege; but without success. His associates, the principal of whom were le Gendre and Collier, did not forsake him. They fitted out two ships, the command of which they gave to Champlain and Pontgrave. The views of these men were quite different. Champlain had most at heart the success of the colony; Pontgrave thought of nothing but the acquisition of wealth, by traffic with the Indians.

The first reached Tadoussac on the twenty-sixth of April 1610, and proceeded to Quebec without delay. He found the colony in a prosperous condition. Wheat and rye had been sown the preceding year, and succeeded well; vines had been planted, but the event had disappointed the hope of the farmer. The people were healthy, and the Indians much pleased with their new neighbours, among whom they found a supply of provisions, when the precarious resource of the chase rendered it neces-

sary; but they valued the whites most, on account of the protection they afforded against the irruptions of the Iroquois. The Hurons, the Algonquins and the Montagnes, were the most immediate neighbours of the French. The first dwelt above Quebec, and the two other below, towards Tadoussac.

These Indians pressed Champlain to accompany them, on a second expedition against the Iroquois; their warriors being already assembled at the mouth of the river Sorel. On his arrival there, he found the number of these much smaller than it had been represented. A party, of about one hundred of the enemy, was hovering in the neighbourhood; he was told he might surprise them, if leaving his boat, he went up in a light canoe of the Indians. He did so, with four of his countrymen, who had accompanied him, and he had hardly proceeded three miles up, when his Indians, without saying one word, jumped out of the canoe, and without leaving a guide with the whites, ran along the shore as fast as they could.

The country was swampy, and the musquites and other insects, extremely troublesome. Champlain was advancing slowly, in uncertainty and doubt, when an Algonquin chief came to hurry him, saying the battle was begun. He hastened, and soon heard the yells of the combatants. The Iroquois had been found, and attacked in a small entrenchment, and had repelled the assailants. These taking courage, on the approach of their white allies, returned to the charge. The conflict was obstinate; Champlain was wounded in the neck, and one of his men in the arm. This did not prevent a galling fire from being at first poured in; but at last, the ammunition was exhausted; the enemy, greatly distressed by the musketry, was elated on its silence. The French, placing themselves at the head of their allies, march-

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ed to the attack and were repelled; but others, whom Champlain had left behind, coming up, the charge was renewed, and the Iroquois were mostly killed or wounded, and those who attempted to escape were drowned in the stream.

On the fourteenth of May, Henry the fourth fell under the dagger of Ravaillac, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and was succeeded by his son, Louis the thirteenth.

The Marchioness of Guercheville was now in the enjoyment of the privilege, which had been granted to Dumontz; who, after its revocation, had been permitted to resume it for one year. Her avowed object was the conversion of the Indians, and the promotion of the Catholic religion, in Acadie. For this purpose, she sent thither, in the following year, two Jesuits, fathers Briart and Masse, as missionaries to Port Royal. This is the first spiritual succour, sent to this part of the continent, from France.

Champlain discovered the lake to which he gave, and which still bears, his name.

The Dutch began, in 1613, their first establishment on the northern continent, in the island of Manhattan. They called it Nova Belgica, and its principal town (now the city of New York) New Amsterdam.

The Marchioness of Guercheville fitted out two ships at Honfleur, for Acadie. She gave the command of them to De la Saussaie, whom she intended placing at the head of her affairs there. He sailed on the twelfth of March 1613, and cast anchor in the port de la Haive, on the sixth of May. He erected there a pillar, with the armorial escutcheon of the Marchioness. From thence he went to Port Royal, where he found only an apothecary, who commanded, two Jesuits and three other persons—Becancourt, whom she had entrusted with her affairs there, being

gone with the rest of the colonists, into the country in quest of provisions. Having taken the Jesuits on board, De la Saussaie proceeded to the river Penobscot, on the northern shore of which, he erected a small fort with the aid of his crew, and of twenty-five colonists, whom he had brought from France, and a few cabins for their accommodation. He called the place St. Sauveur.

He was hardly settled there, when Samuel Argal, an Englishman from Virginia, with eleven men of his nation, came into the neighbourhood, and hearing of the French settlement, determined on destroying it; viewing it as an encroachment on the rights of the northern company, within whose grant he conceived it to be. The French, being unprovided with artillery (and the English having four pieces of cannon) made but a feeble resistance. They had several men killed. After their surrender, the settlement was abandoned to pillage and destruction; the vanquished were permitted to return to France; some of them, however, voluntarily followed Argal to Virginia. The escutcheon of the King of England was substituted for that of the Marchioness. Argal, before he sailed, sent some of his men to St. Croix and Port Royal, where, as at St. Sauveur, the houses of the French were consumed by fire.

The death of Henry the fourth had left Dumontz without support; Champlain had found a patron in the Earl of Soissons, whom the queen regent had placed at the head of the affairs of New France; but this nobleman died soon after, and was succeeded by the Prince of Conde. Under the auspices of the latter, Champlain sailed with Pontgrave, who had lately returned from Acadie. Landing at Quebec, on the seventh of May 1613, and finding



every thing in good order, he proceeded up the river, and laid the foundation of the city of Montreal. He visited the Ouatamais, and joining Pontgrave, whom he had left trading below, returned with him to St. Maloes. He formed there an association with merchants of that city, of Rouen and of La Rochelle, and by the aid of the Prince of Conde, obtained a charter for it.

The English northern company, deterred by the ill success of the colony they had sent to Sagadahoc five years before, had in the meanwhile limited their enterprise to a few voyages, undertaken for the sole purposes of fishing and trading for furs and peltries with the natives. In one of these, John Smith made in 1614, an accurate map from Cape Cod to Penobscot river. He laid it before the Prince of Wales, who gave the country the appellation of New England, under which the territory between the Dutch colony of Nova Belgica, and the French of Canada became known to Europe.

The company, lately formed by Champlain, at St. Maloes, fitted out their first expedition for New France, in the following year. He carried thither four recollet friars, whom he landed at Quebec, on the twenty-fifth of March 1615. He next proceeded to Montreal, where he found a large party of the Hurons, who proposed a third expedition against the Iroquois. He assented to it, provided they would wait till his return from Quebec, where his presence was absolutely necessary; this was agreed to, and he sat off.

The Indians, however, grew soon tired of waiting for him, and proceeded with a few Frenchmen he had left in Montreal and father Joseph le Caron, one of the recollet friars lately arrived. Champlain reached Montreal, a few days after their departure,

and was much vexed at their conduct. He would have desisted from following them, had he not feared the friar, who was with them, might be ill treated. He embarked with two Frenchmen and ten Indians, and joined the Hurons in their village. Placing himself at their head, he led them towards the Iroquois, who were found in an entrenchment, the approaches to which were in every direction, obstructed by trunks of large trees, still armed with all their branches. The assailants, repulsed on their first approach, attempted to set fire to the trees; but the besiegers had provided themselves, against this mode of offence, with a large supply of water. Champlain now erected a high scaffold, on which he placed his countrymen, whose galling fire greatly annoyed the enemy and would have ensured victory, if the Hurons had not become untractable and unmindful of the orders of their leader. He was at last wounded in the leg, an accident, which drove his allies from presumption to despair; and he found himself compelled to order a retreat. It was made in a better order than he had expected; for, notwithstanding the pursuit, he did not lose one man.

Champlain wintered in the neighbourhood, unable to procure a guide for his return to Quebec. He visited the villages near him, as far as Lake Nipissing. In the spring, he induced a few Indians, who had become attached to him, to pilot father Joseph and himself to Quebec, where they landed on the eleventh of July. He soon after went over to France.

During his absence, two Frenchmen, on a trading excursion, were killed by the Hurons. On his return, he was planning an expedition against his former allies, in order to avenge his countrymen's death; but the former, apprehensive of the consequences, if they gave him time to make his prepara-

tions, determined on striking the first blow, and destroying every white man in Canada. With this object in view, they assembled about eight hundred warriors, near Trois Rivieres. Brother Pacific, a lay recollet friar, who had been stationed as a school master in the settlement, having received early information of their design, successfully exerted himself to dissuade them from it, holding out the hope that, if they abandoned it, and gave up the assassins, Champlain would be prevailed on to forbear taking the just revenge he meditated. Accordingly, at their request, he went down to Quebec. Champlain demanded two Indians, who had been designated, as the perpetrators of the murder. One of them was sent, and with him a large quantity of furs and peltries, in order, according to the Indian custom, to cover the dead, or atone for the crime. Prudential considerations induced Champlain to appear satisfied with this.

The troubles, that distracted France during the minority of Louis the thirteenth, prevented the regency from attending to the possessions of the crown, in America. Champlain continued to make frequent, but unsuccessful voyages to France, in search of aid; and his associates, satisfied with advancing their own interests by traffic, did not think of promoting the settlement or agriculture of the colony.

The prince of Conde, sold in 1620, his vice royalty to his brother-in-law, the Marshal of Montmorency. This nobleman, appointed Champlain his lieutenant, who, encouraged by the promises of his new patron, took his family over. On his landing at Tadoussac, he found three traders of la Rochelle, who, in contempt of the king's orders, and in violation of the company's rights, were trafficking with the Indians, and so far forgot themselves as to supply them with

fire arms and ammunition; a measure which, until then, had been cautiously avoided.

On the twentieth of December, a ship from England landed one hundred and twenty men near Cape Cod, who laid the foundation of a colony, which, in course of time, became greatly conspicuous in the annals of the northern continent. They called their first town New Plymouth.

Philip the third, on the twenty-first of March of the following year, the forty-third of his age, transmitted the crown of Spain to his son, Philip the fourth.

This year, James the first of England, granted to Sir William Alexander, all the territory taken by Argal from the French in America, giving it the appellation of Nova Scotia, instead of that of Acadie, under which it was then known. The grantee divided it into two provinces: the first, which included the peninsula, retained the name in the royal grant; the second, including the rest of the territory, was called Nova Alexandria. The king proposed to create fifty baronets, from among the associates of Sir William, who would contribute most liberally to the settlement of the territory granted.

The Iroquois, apprehending, that if the French were suffered to gain ground in Canada, the Hurons and Algonquins would acquire with their help, a preponderance over their nation, determined openly to attack the whites. Accordingly they fell on a small party of the latter, near the falls of St. Louis; but timely information of the approach of the Indians, enabled the French to repel them. On their return, they led away father William Poulain, a recollet monk; but the French had taken an Iroquois chief of considerable note, and the holy man, as they were tying him to the stake, received his freedom and his

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life, on the proposal of his countrymen to give the warrior in exchange for him.

Another party, in thirty canoes, came to Quebec and surrounded the convent of the recollets, on St. Charles river. The pious monks had fortified their, till then, peaceful monastery. The Iroquois hovered for several days around it, and retreated after having captured a small party of Hurons, who had come to the relief of their godly fathers. After destroying their huts and burning some of their prisoners, near the holy place, the Iroquois withdrew. Champlain found the force he could command too weak to venture on a pursuit. At the solicitation of the principal inhabitants, he sent father George le Baillif to France, to lay the distressed situation of the colony before the sovereign, and implore the needed relief.

Quebec in 1622, fourteen years after its settlement, had only fifty inhabitants, men, women and children. A brisk trade was carried on with the natives at Tadoussac below, and at Montreal and Trois Rivieres above the city.

The charter, which the Prince of Conde had procured to the company of merchants of St. Maloes, Rouen and la Rochelle, which Champlain had formed, was now revoked and its privilege granted to William de Caen and Edmund de Caen, his nephews.

The uncle came to Quebec, and although a protestant, was cordially received. He gave the direction of his affairs in Canada to Pontgrave, who was, by the ill state of his health, obliged to follow his principal to France, in the following year.

Champlain, having received intelligence that the Hurons, his former allies, meditated an union with the Iroquois against the French, sent among them three recollet monks—Fathers Joseph le Caron and Nicholas Viel and brother Nicholas Saghart. The

timely exertion of the influence of these pious men, had the effect of averting the impending calamity. He now laid the foundation of the fortress of Quebec, and went to France with his family.

Henry de Levy, Duke of Ventadour, had succeeded his uncle the Marshal of Montmorency, in the vice-royalty of New France. All the relief, which the solicitations of Champlain could obtain from the new viceroy, who had lately withdrawn from court, and received holy orders, was of the spiritual kind. Father Lallemand, who had accompanied de la Saussaie in Acadie, father Masse, of whom mention has already been made, and father Jean de Brebeuf, all three of the order of the Jesuits, were sent as missionaries to Canada, and were accompanied by two of their lay brethren, and father Daillon, a recollet. They all landed at Quebec, in 1625.

On the twenty-ninth of April of the same year, on the demise of James the first, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, his son, Charles the first, ascended the thrones of England and Scotland. This year is remarkable, as the one in which the French and English made their first settlements in the West India islands. They both landed, on the same day, in different parts of the island of St. Christopher.

Charles the first, in some degree, pursued the intentions of his father, by granting patents of knight baronets to the promoters of the settlement of Nova Scotia. The original scheme was, however, defeated, and Sir William Alexander, sold his property in that country to the French. He was Charles' secretary of state for Scotland, and was created Lord Stirling. The person, who had inherited his title in 1776, took part with the Americans, and served the United States with distinction, as a general officer

during the war, which terminated by the recognition of their independence, by their former sovereign.

Fathers Daillon and Brebeuf, some time after their arrival at Quebec, sat off for Trois Rivieres, where they met with a party of the Hurons, who offered to escort them. As their object was to go and preach the gospel to the Indians, they accepted the offer, and were about starting, when the news of the death of father Viel induced them to remain. This father, having spent some time with the Hurons, left them on a visit to Quebec in a canoe, with two of their young men. Instead of the usual pass, they took the branch of the river, which runs between the islands of Montreal and Jesus, commonly called the river of the meadows, in which there is a fall, and neglecting to make a small portage, they attempted passing over the fall. In doing so, the canoe upset, and the father with an Indian boy, who waited on him, were drowned. The fall was, from this circumstance, called *le sault du recollet*. The Indians made their escape. As they carried away the father's baggage, and did not appear well disposed before, they were strongly suspected of premeditated murder.

Three Jesuits, father Philibert, Nouet and Anne de Noue and a brother, came to Quebec in 1626, in a vessel chartered by their order. This spiritual, was accompanied by worldly aid. A number of useful mechanics came also. They added much to the appearance of the place, which now began to take that of a town, having had before that of a plantation only. The Indians were often troublesome; at times, killing such of the whites, as straggled to any distance. Animosities arose between the inhabitants and the agents of the de Caens, who were protestants. They paid but little attention to the

culture of the ground, being solicitous only of collecting furs and peltries. Such was the situation of the colony, when Champlain returned, in 1627.

Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, having patronized the plan of Gulielm Usselin, for establishing a colony near that of the Dutch on Hudson river, a number of Swedes and Fins came over this year, and landed on Cape Henlopen, which they called Paradise point; they purchased from the natives, all the land from the Cape to the falls of the Delaware, and began their settlement.

In the month of May, Louis the thirteenth at his camp, before la Rochelle, issued an edict, by which a number of individuals, which was to be carried to one hundred, were incorporated under the style of "the company of New France." The privilege of the de Caens was expressly revoked. New France and Caroline or French Florida, were transferred to the company; the sovereign reserving only the faith and homage of its members and the inhabitants of the country, with a golden crown, on the accession of every king, the right of commissioning the officers of the highest tribunal of justice, presented to him, by the company, the power of casting cannons, erecting forts and doing whatever might be needed for the defence of the country. The company was invested with the power of granting land, erecting dukedoms, marquisesates, earldoms, baronies, &c. An exclusive trade in furs and peltries was granted for ever; and in every thing else, during fifteen years. The right was, however, reserved to the king's subjects in the country, to purchase furs, peltries and hides from the Indians; under the obligation of selling beaver skins to the factors of the company, at a fixed price.

The company covenanted to transport, in the



course of the first year, two or three hundred mechanics of different trades to Canada; to increase the number of its inhabitants, within fifteen years, to sixteen thousand; to lodge, feed and maintain the people they should send thither, during three years, and afterwards to grant them cleared land, sufficient for their support and supply them with grain for seed. It was stipulated, that all the colonists should be native French and Roman catholics, and no alien or heretic was to be received; it was provided, that in every settlement, there should be at least three priests supported by the company: cleared land was to be allotted for their support.

The company was composed of several noblemen, wealthy merchants and other influential characters, at whose head was the Cardinal of Richelieu. The Duke of Ventadour surrendered his office of viceroy to the king.

The first efforts of the company, were unsuccessful. Its vessels were taken by the English, although there was no war between them and the French; but the cabinet of St. James had taken umbrage at the siege of la Rochelle.

David Kertz, a native of Dieppe, but a refugee in the service of Charles the first, instigated, as was supposed, by William de Caen, who was exasperated at the loss of his privilege, cast anchor, with a small fleet before Tadoussac, early in the spring of the following year, and sent one of his ships to destroy the houses and seize the cattle at Cape Tousmente; and another to summon Champlain to surrender Quebec. The French chief was in the utmost distress for provisions and ammunition. He, however, returned a bold answer. Kertz, having, in the mean while, received intelligence of the approach of a number of vessels, sent by the company to carry

men and provisions to Canada, thought it more advisable to go and meet them, than to attempt a siege.

Roquemont, who commanded the company's ships, cast anchor at Gaspé, from whence he dispatched a light vessel to Québec, in order to apprise Champlain of his approach, and deliver him a commission, by which he was appointed governor and lieutenant general of New France. Miscalculating the relative forces of the French and English fleets, Roquemont went in search of Kertz, and fought him; but, his ships, being overladen and encumbered, were all captured.

The joy, which Roquemont's messenger had excited in Québec, was not of long duration. It was soon followed by the melancholy tidings of the capture of the vessels, loaded with the needed supplies. This misfortune was attended by another. The crops failed throughout the country. The Indians for a while yielded some relief, from the produce of their chase; but this precarious aid did not, nor could it, last long. The colonists had still some hope from another quarter. Father Nouet, superior of the Jesuits, and father Lallemand, were gone to solicit succour in France. They found, in the generosity of their friends, the means of chartering a vessel and loading her with provisions, and took passage in her with father Alexander Vieuxpont, and a lay brother. A storm cast her ashore on the coast of Acadie. The superior and lay brother were drowned. Father Vieuxpont joined father Vimont, in the island of Cape Breton. Father Lallemand sailed for France, but experienced a second shipwreck, near San Sebastian, from which he however escaped.

Famine was not the only calamity that afflicted

Canada. The Indians had grown turbulent and intractable, on the approach of the English. The ill will, which a difference of religious opinions often creates, was greatly excited, and the Huguenots, whom the de Caens had introduced, refused obedience to the constituted authorities. Champlain had need of all his firmness and energy to suppress the disorder. In this state of affairs, he thought the best measure he could adopt was to march against the Iroquois, who of late had given him great cause of complaint, attack them and seek subsistence for his men in their country. But he was without ammunition, and could not reasonably expect any for many months. Brule, his brother-in-law, whom he had sent to France, to lay the distressed situation of the colony before the king, had sailed but a few weeks before.

Towards the middle of July, he was informed that a number of English vessels were behind Pointe Levy. This intelligence, which at any other time would have been very unpleasant, received a different character, from circumstances. He viewed the English less as enemies than as liberators, who came to put an end to the horrors of famine. A few hours after, a boat, with a white flag advanced and stopped in the middle of the port, as if waiting for leave to approach. A similar flag was hoisted in town, in order to intimate a wish that it might come to shore. An officer landed, and brought to Champlain a letter from Louis and Thomas Kertz, brothers to David, the Commodore. One of them was destined to the command of Quebec, the other had that of the fleet, which was at Tadoussac. The vessel that carried Brule, had fallen into their hands, and the distressed situation of the colony had become known to them, from the report of some of her sailors. Champlain

was offered to dictate the terms of the capitulation; the place was yielded.

On the twentieth, the English cast anchor before it. They had but three ships; the largest was of one hundred tons, and had ten guns; the other two were of fifty tons, and had six guns each.

The conquest of Canada added but little to the wealth or power of England. Quebec, the only part of it, which could be said to be settled, was a rock on which one hundred individuals were starving. It contained but a few miserable huts. All the wealth of the place consisted in a few hides, and some peltries of inconsiderable value.

Thus, one hundred and twenty years after the French first visited the northern continent of America, notwithstanding a great waste of men and money, they were without one foot of territory on it.

The English colonies, were in a more prosperous condition. The sturdy pilgrims, who had landed but a few years before, in the north, had already wrested from the metropolis the government of their colony; and spreading their population along the sea shore, had laid the foundation of the towns of Plymouth, Salem and Boston.

The settlements in Virginia were extended to a considerable distance along the banks of James and York rivers, to the Rapahanoc, and even the Potomac. They had subdued the neighbouring tribes of Indians, who had attempted a general massacre of the whites. They enjoyed already, the privilege of making their own laws. Regular courts of justice were established among them, and they had victoriously stood a contest, which terminated in the dissolution of the company, at whose costs the country had been settled; too spirited to submit to the arbitrary sway of Sir John Harvey, whom the king had

sent to govern them, they had seized and shipped him to England.

On the thirtieth of October, Charles the first granted to Sir Robert Heath, his attorney-general, all the territory between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degrees of northern latitude, not yet cultivated or planted, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, with the islands of Viaries and Bahama. This immense tract, including all the country now covered by the states of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee and Mississippi, with parts of that of Louisiana, the territory of Arkansas, with a considerable portion of New Mexico—was erected into an English province, by the name of Carolana. This is the largest grant of a king of England, to an individual. Sir Robert does not appear to have made an attempt to occupy any part of it. In 1637, he transferred his title to Lord Maltravers, who some time after, on the death of his father, became Earl of Arundel and Surry, and Earl Marshal of England. This nobleman is said to have been at considerable expense in an attempt to transplant a colony there, but the civil war which began to rage soon after, prevented his success. The province afterwards became the property of Dr. Coxe of New Jersey, whose right, as late as the 21st of November 1699, was recognised by the attorney-general of king William, and reported by the lords commissioners of trade and plantations as a valid one. The Virginia company loudly complained of the grant to Sir Robert, as an encroachment on their charter.

While a new government was thus sought to be established in the south, by the king's authority, new establishments were formed by the northern company, in the neighbourhood of the French: Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason, two members of

that corporation, built a house at the mouth of Piscataqua river, and afterwards others erected cabins along the coast, from Merrimack eastwardly to Sagadahoc, for the purpose of fishing. In 1631, Sir Ferdinando and Mason sent a party, under one Williams, who laid the foundation of the town of Portsmouth, in the present state of New Hampshire.

By the treaty of St. Germain, which put an end to the war, between France and England, on the twenty-ninth of March 1632, the latter restored to the former, Canada and Acadie, without any description of limits; Quebec, Port Royal and the island of Cape Breton were so by name.

*Robertson.—Charlevoix.—Marshall.*

## CHAPTER III.

*Emery de Caen.—Maryland.—Acadie.—Commandeur de Razilly.—New Hampshire.—Maine.—Rhode Island and Providence plantations.—Connecticut.—College of Quebec.—Montmagny.—The Dutchess of Aiguillon. Ursuline Nuns.—Sisters of the Congregation.—Fort Richelieu.—Louis XIV.—Union of the New England colonies.—Their treaty with Acadie.—D'Aillebout.—Offer of a treaty to Canada.—Oliver Cromwell.—Commissioners of New England.—Indians.—Missionaries among them.—Godefroy and Dreuilletes sent to Boston. De Lauson.—Irruption of the Iroquois.—Swedish colony abandoned.—D'Argenson.—Bishop of Petrea.—Vicar General.—Seminary of Montreal.—The English from Virginia, discover the Ohio.—Charles II. proclaimed in Virginia.—Irruptions of the Iroquois near Quebec.—Epidemic.—Meteors.—D'Avaugour.—Dissentions among the chiefs.—Sale of ardent spirits to the Indians.—Earthquake.—Vision of a Nun.—The Charter of the Company of New France surrendered.—De Gaudais.—Superior and inferior courts of Justice. Grant to the Duke of York.—The Dutch driven from New Belgica.—New York.—Albany.—New Jersey.—Fresh dissentions among the chiefs.—De Courcelles.—De Tracy.—Viceroy of New France.—Regiment of Carignan Salieres.—New colonists.—Horses, oxen and sheep brought from France to Canada.—Fort Sorel. Fort St. Theresa.—Expedition against the Iroquois.—Another earthquake.—Carolina.—Charles II. of Spain. West India Company.—Quebec erected into a Bishop's Sec.—French and English Plenipotentiaries in Boston. Frontenac.—Fort at Catarocoui.—Salem.—Father Marquette.—Joliet.—Lake Michigan.—Outaganais*

*river. — Ouisconsin. — Mississippi. — Illinois. — Missouri. — Arkansas. — Great rejoicings in Quebec on the discovery of the Mississippi.*

EMERY DE CAEN was despatched, with a copy of the treaty, to Quebec. His principal object in bringing it, was the recovery of the property he had left in Canada, for the restoration of which, provision had been made by an article of the treaty. With the view of yielding to him some indemnification for the loss of his privilege, Louis the thirteenth had granted him the exclusive commerce of New France, in furs and peltries, for one year.

Kertz surrendered the country to de Caen.

Charles the first, on the twenty-eighth of June, granted to Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, a large tract of country, between the settlements of Virginia and the river and bay of Delaware. It was called Maryland, in honor of Henrietta Maria, sister to Louis the thirteenth of France. Lord Baltimore, soon after sent thither two hundred colonists. They were all Roman catholics, and chiefly from Ireland.

The company of New France resumed its rights in 1633, and Champlain, who on its nomination, had been appointed governor of Canada, returned to Quebec, bringing with him a few Jesuits.

Acadie was granted to the commander of Razilly, one of the principal members of the company. He bound himself to settle it, and began a small establishment at la Haive. A party of his people, attacked a trading house of the colony of New England on Penobscot river. In the following year, he erected a small military post there. It was attacked by an English ship and barque, under Captain Girling; but it successfully defended itself.

The Plymouth company, dividing its territory



among its members, the land between Merrimack and Piscataqua rivers, was granted to Mason. It now constitutes the state of New Hampshire. That to the north east, as far as Kennebeck river, was allotted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, another member. It is now the state of Maine.

Roger Williams, a popular preacher, and a Mrs. Hutchinson, being banished from Massachusetts, purchased each a tract of land from the Naraganset Indians, on which they settled, with a few of their adherents, and laid the foundations of Providence and Rhode Island. Nearly about the same time, Hooker, a favourite minister in Boston, with leave of the government, led a small colony farther southerly, and laid in the towns of Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield, the foundation of the present state of Connecticut.

In December 1635, a college was established by royal authority at Quebec, and ~~in the following year~~. Champlain died, and was succeeded by the Chevalier de Montmagny.

The piety of the Dutchess d'Aiguillon procured to the colony two useful establishments—that of the Sisters of the Congregation, who came from Dieppe in 1637; and that of the Ursuline Nuns from Tours, in 1638, to devote themselves to the relief of suffering humanity in the hospital, and the education of young persons of their sex.

With the view of checking the irruptions of the Iroquois, who greatly distressed the upper settlers, and came down the river, that falls into the St. Lawrence on its right side, at a small distance from the town of Montreal, Montmagny had a fort erected on its banks; it was called Fort Richelieu, in honor of the Cardinal, then prime minister, and afterwards communicated its name to the stream.

Justice had hitherto been rendered to the colonists, by the governor and commandants; in 1640, provision was made for its more regular administration, by the appointment of judges at Quebec, Montreal and Trois Rivieres, and a grand seneschal of New France. The former had original, and the latter appellate jurisdiction.

Louis the thirteenth, on the fourteenth of May 1643, the forty-second year of his age, transmitted his sceptre to his son, Louis the fourteenth.

The English settlements, near the French, suffering as much from the Indians as Canada, the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, sought protection in the union of their efforts. They entered into a league of alliance, offensive and defensive, and gave to five commissioners, chosen by each colony, the power of regulating the affairs of the confederacy. Accordingly the governor of Massachusetts, in behalf of the united colonies, in the following year, concluded a treaty of peace and commerce, with Monsieur d'Antouy, governor of Acadie; it was laid before, and ratified by, the commissioners.

In 1646, d'Aillebout succeeded Montmagny, in the government of New France.

The Indians continuing to distress the back settlers of New England, the commissioners of the united colonies sent a deputy to Quebec; who, in their behalf, proposed to d'Aillebout, that the French and New England colonies should enter into a perpetual alliance, independent from any rupture between the parent countries. D'Aillebout, approving the measure, sent father Deuilletes, a Jesuit, to meet the commissioners in Boston. The envoy, it appears, was instructed not to agree to any treaty, unless the aid of New England was afforded to New France,

against the Iroquois. Time has destroyed every trace of the final result of this mission.

Democracy now prevailed in England, over the monarch and its nobles. The House of Lords was abolished, and Charles the first lost his head on the scaffold, on the 30th of January 1648, in the forty-eighth year of his age. Oliver Cromwell, under the title of protector, assumed the reins of government. During the struggle, that preceded the king's fall, the northern colonies spiritedly adhered to the popular party; Virginia remained attached to the royal cause, which did not cease to prevail there, till the arrival of a fleet, with the protector's governor. Some resistance was even made to his landing.

The commissioners of New England resumed their negotiations to induce the governor of New France, to enter into an alliance with them. The English and French colonies were now much distressed by irruptions of the Indians. The French had sent among the latter, a considerable number of missionaries, who proceeded, in their efforts to propagate the gospel, much in the same manner as methodists now do, in new and thinly inhabited countries. Besides travelling missionaries, who performed regular tours of duty, among the more distant tribes, they had stationed ones in the nearer. The stationed missionary was generally attended by a lay brother, who instructed young Indians in their Catechism. The father had often around him a number of his countrymen, who came to sell goods and collect peltries. His dwelling was the ordinary resort of the white men, whom necessity, cupidity or any other cause, led into the forests. A number of Indians gathered near the mission, to minister to the wants of the holy man, and his inmates or visitors. His functions gave him a great ascendancy over his

flock, amused and increased by the pageantry of the rites of his religion. His authority often extended over the whole tribe, and he commanded, and directed the use of its forces. As he was supported by, and did support, the government of the colony, he soon became a powerful auxiliary, in the hands of its military chief. The union, which existed among the travelling and stationed missionaries, all appointed and sent or stationed, and directed by their superior in the convent of Quebec, had connected the tribes who had received a missionary, into a kind of alliance and confederacy, the forces of which government commanded, and at times exerted against the more distant tribes. In return, it afforded the confederates protection against their enemies. The Iroquois, Eries and other nations, not in this alliance, considered the members of it as their foes, made frequent irruptions in their villiages, and at times captured or killed the missionary and the white men around him. The parties, engaged in these expeditions, did not always confine the violence they thus exercised to Indian villages; they often attacked the frontier settlements of the whites, and at times approached their towns. These circumstances rendered it desirable to New France, to secure the aid of New England against the Indians. Accordingly, in June 1651, d'Aillebout, calling to his council the head of the clergy and some of the most notable planters, who recommended that Godefroy, one of the latter, and father Dreuilletes, should proceed to Boston, and conclude the alliance, which the commissioners of the New England colonies had proposed. Charlevoix has preserved the resolutions of the notables, the letter they wrote to the commissioners, and the passport or letter of credence, which the governor gave to the envoys; but he was not able to transmit us the result of the mission.

New France received a new governor, in the person of Lauson, in 1652.

A large party of the Iroquois, advancing towards Montreal, Duplessis Brocard, who commanded there, putting himself at the head of the inhabitants, marched out. He lost his life in an encounter, and his followers were routed. This accident, although it inspired the Indians with much confidence, did not embolden them to attack the town.

On the failure of an expedition, which Cromwell had directed to be prepared in Boston, under the command of Sedgwick, for the attack of the Dutch in Nova Belgica, this officer took upon himself to dislodge the French from Acadie.

The French and English were not the only European nations annoyed by the Indians. The Swedes, who, at this time, had several settlements over the territory, which is now covered by the states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, finding themselves in too small a number to stand their ground with the natives, abandoned New Sweden; and John Rising, their governor, in 1655 by order of his sovereign, transferred to Peter Stuyvesant, governor of Nova Belgica, all the rights of the Swedish crown in this quarter, for the use of the states-general.

In 1659, New France received new civil and ecclesiastical chiefs. The Viscount of Argenson succeeded Lauson, and Francis de Laval, Bishop of Petrea, appointed by the holy see, its apostolic vicar, arrived with a number of ecclesiastics. The island of Montreal was erected into a seignory, and the priests of St. Sulpice in Paris, were made lords of it. A seminary was established in the city of Montreal; it being the intention of government, to substitute a secular clergy to the Jesuits and recollets, who till now had ministered to the spiritual wants of the

colonists. A similar establishment had been begun in Quebec. Regulations were made for the collection of tithes. Societies of religious ladies in France sent some of their members to Montreal, for the relief of the sick and the education of young persons of their sex.

While Canada was advancing in its internal improvements, the Virginians extended their discoveries over the mountains. Daniel Coxe, in his description of Carolana, published in 1722, relates that Col. Woods of Virginia, dwelling near the falls of James river, about one hundred miles from the bay of Chesapeake, between the years 1654 and 1664, discovered at different times. several branches of the Ohio and Mississippi. He adds, he had in his possession, the journal of a Capt. Needham, who was employed by the Colonel.

In 1660, the people of Virginia, at the death of Mathews, the protector's governor, called on Sir William Berkely, the former governor under the king, to resume the reins of government, and proclaimed Charles the second as their legitimate sovereign, before they had any intelligence of Cromwells' death. Charles' restoration was soon after effected in England, and his authority recognised, in all his American colonies.

This year was a disastrous one in Canada : large parties of the Iroquois incessantly rambled over the country, in every direction, killing or making prisoners of the whites, who strayed to any distance from their plantations. The culture of the earth was much impeded by the terror they inspired. Even in Quebec, the people were alarmed. The Ursuline and hospital nuns were frequently compelled to seek shelter out of their monasteries, at night. In the following year, an epidemic disease made great

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havock. It was a kind of hooping cough, terminating in pleurisy. Many of the whites, and the domesticated Indians fell victims to it. Its greatest ravages were among the children. It was imagined to be occasioned by enchantment, and many of the faculty, did, or affected to, believe it. Others were terrified into credulity, and the strangest reports were circulated and credited. Time and the progress of knowledge have dispelled the opinion (which at this period prevailed in Europe, and the colonists had brought over) that at times, malignant spirits enabled some individuals to exercise supernatural powers over the health and lives of others. It was said, a fiery crown had been observed in the air at Montreal; lamentable cries heard at Trois Rivieres, in places, in which there was not any person; that at Quebec, a canoe all in fire, had been seen on the river, with a man armed cap-a-pie, surrounded by a circle of the same element; and in the island of Orleans, a woman had heard the cries of her fruit in her womb. A comet made its appearance; a phenomenon seldom looked upon as of no importance, especially in calamitous times.

The alarm at last subsided. The parties of Iroquois, who desolated the country, became less numerous and less frequent; these Indians finally sued for peace. The governor did not appear at first, very anxious to listen to their proposals; but prudence commanded the acceptance of them.

The Baron d'Avaugour relieved the Viscount d'Argenson, in 1662.

Serious discontents now arose between the civil and ecclesiastical chiefs. Much distress resulted from the inobservance of the regulations, made to prevent the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians. A woman, who was found guilty of a breach of them,

was sent to prison, and at the solicitation of her friends, the superior of the Jesuits waited on the Baron, to solicit her release. He received the holy man with rudeness; observing that, since the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians was no offence in this woman, it should not, for the future, be one in any body. Obstinacy induced him afterwards to regulate his conduct, according to this rash declaration; the shopkeepers (thinking themselves safe) suffered cupidity to direct theirs, and the regulations were entirely disregarded. The clergy exerted all their influence to suppress the growing evil, and withheld absolution from those, who refused to promise obedience to the regulations. The Bishop resorted to the use of the censures of the church against the obstinate; this created much ill will against him and his clergy, and he crossed the sea, to solicit the king's strict orders, for the suppression of this disorder.

A dreadful earthquake was felt in Canada, on the fifth of February 1663. The first shock is said by Charlevoix, to have lasted half an hour; after the first quarter of an hour, its violence gradually abated. At eight o'clock in the evening, a like shock was felt; some of the inhabitants said they had counted as many as thirty-two shocks, during the night. In the intervals between the shocks, the surface of the ground undulated as the sea, and the people felt, in their houses, the sensations which are experienced in a vessel at anchor. On the sixth, at three o'clock in the morning, another most violent shock was felt. It is related that at Tadoussac, there was a rain of ashes for six hours. During this strange commotion of nature, the bells of the churches were kept constantly ringing, by the motion of the steeples; the houses were so terribly



shaken, that the eaves, on each side, alternately touched the ground. Several mountains altered their positions; others were precipitated into the river, and lakes were afterwards found, in the places on which they stood before. The commotion was felt for nine hundred miles from east to west, and five hundred from north to south.

This extraordinary phœnomenon was considered as the effect of the vengeance of God, irritated at the obstinacy of those, who, neglecting the admonitions of his ministers, and contemning the censures of his church, continued to sell brandy to the Indians. The reverend writer, who has been cited, relates it was said, ignited appearances had been observed in the air, for several days before; globes of fire being seen over the cities of Quebec and Montreal, attended with a noise like that of the simultaneous discharge of several pieces of heavy artillery; that the superior of the nuns, informed her confessor some time before, that being at her devotions, she believed "she saw the Lord, irritated against Canada, and she involuntarily demanded justice from him for all the crimes committed in the country; praying the souls might not perish with the bodies: a moment after, she felt conscious the divine justice was going to strike; the contempt of the church exciting God's wrath. She perceived almost instantaneously four devils, at the corners of Quebec, shaking the earth with extreme violence, and a person of majestic mien alternately slackening and drawing back a bridle, by which he held them." A female Indian, who had been baptised, was said to have received intelligence of the impending chastisement of heaven. The reverend writer concludes his narration, by exultingly observing, "none perished, all were converted."

The bishop was favourably heard at court, and returned with de Mesy, who at his recommendation, was sent to relieve the Baron d'Avaugour,

The company of New France, drawing but little advantage from its charter, had surrendered it; and Gaudais, the king's commissioner to take possession of the country, arrived with the governor and bishop. One hundred families came over with him. A number of civil and military officers, and some troops were also sent.

After having executed the object of his mission, received the oaths of fidelity of the former and new colonists, and made several ordinances for the regulation of the police and administration of justice, the commissioner returned to France.

The governors had hitherto claimed cognizance of all suits, which the plaintiff brought before them, and disposed of them, in a summary way, and without appeal. They, however, seldom proceeded to judgment, without having previously tried in vain to induce the parties to submit their differences to the arbitration of their friends; and the final decisions of the governors, when the attempt failed, had generally given satisfaction. We have seen, however, that in 1640, a grand seneschal of New France and inferior judges at Quebec, Montreal and Trois Rivieres, had been appointed. By an edict of the king, of the month of March 1664, a sovereign council was created in New France. It was composed of the governor, the apostolic vicar, the intendant, and four counsellors, (chosen among the most notable inhabitants, by, and removeable at the pleasure of, these three officers) an attorney general and a clerk. This tribunal was directed to take the ordinances of the king, and the custom of Paris, as the rules of its decisions. The military and ecclesiastical chief,

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had precedence over the intendant in council, though the latter exercised the functions of president. A majority of the judges was a quorum in civil, but the presence of five of them, was required in criminal cases.

Inferior tribunals were established at Quebec, Montreal and Trois Rivieres.

The occupation, by the Dutch and Swedes, of the territory between New England and Maryland, had never been viewed in England, as the exercise of a legitimate right, but rather as an encroachment on that of the crown, the country having been discovered by one of its subjects, Henry Hudson. The circumstance of his being, at the time, in the service of the states general, was not deemed to affect the claim of his natural sovereign. Charles the second, accordingly made a grant to his brother the Duke of York, and Lord Berkeley, of all the territory between New England and the river Delaware, and a force was sent to take possession of it in 1664.

Governor Stuyvesant, who commanded at New Amsterdam, would have resisted the English forces; but the inhabitants were unwilling to support him. He was therefore, compelled to yield. The town of New Amsterdam received the name of New York, which was also given to the province, and fort Orange that of Albany.

The territory between the Hudson and the Delaware, the North and South river, was erected into a distinct province, and called New Jersey.

In New France, de Mesy did not live on better terms with the bishop and clergy, than his predecessor. Great discontents prevailed also, between him and the members of the council. They rose to such an height, that he ordered Villeré, a notable inhabitant, who had been called to a seat in the coun-

cil, and Bourdon, the attorney general, to be arrested, and, after a detention of a few days, he shipped them to France. The stern wisdom and unshaken integrity of the prisoners, were universally acknowledged. Their complaints were favourably heard at court. The answer of the governor to the charges, exhibited against him, appeared unsatisfactory, and de Courcelles was sent to relieve him.

Louis the fourteenth had, in the preceding year, appointed the Marquis de Tracy, his viceroy and lieutenant general in America. This officer was directed to visit the French islands in the West Indies, to proceed to Quebec and stay as long as might be necessary, to settle the disturbed government of the colony, and provide for its protection against the irruptions of the Iroquois.

In June 1665, the viceroy landed at Quebec, with four companies of the regiment of Carignan Salieres. He dispatched a part of this small force, with some militia, under the orders of captain de Repentigny, who met several parties of the Iroquois, whom he reduced to order. The rest of the regiment arrived soon after, with de Salieres its colonel, and a considerable number of new settlers and tradesmen, and a stock of horses, oxen and sheep. The horses were the first seen in Canada. The addition to the population of the colony, which then arrived, much exceeded its former numbers.

The viceroy proceeded with a part of the troops to the river Richelieu, where he employed them in erecting three forts. The first, was on the spot on which had stood fort Richelieu, built by Montmagny in 1638, and which was gone to ruins. The new one was built by an officer of the name of Sorel, who was afterwards left in command there. It received his name, and communicated it to the river.

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The second fort, was erected at the falls. It was at first called Fort Louis; but Chambly, the officer, who built and commanded it, having acquired the land around, it took his name. The third was nine miles higher up, and was called St. Theresa, from the circumstance of its having been completed on the day, on which the catholics worship that saint. These fortifications were intended as a protection against the Iroquois, who generally came down that river to invade the colony. They were greatly emboldened by the expectation of aid, from the English at Albany. The new forts effectually guarded against their approach by the stream; but the Indians soon found other parts of the country affording them as easy a passage. They became so troublesome, that the viceroy and governor were, for a considerable time, compelled to keep the field with the regular forces, and as many of the inhabitants as could be spared from the labours of agriculture. They had several encounters with large parties of Indians, whom they defeated. The latter found it of no avail, to continue their irruptions, while the colony was thus on its guard.

The tranquility, which the retreat of the foe, and the vigilance of the chiefs gave to the colony, was however, soon disturbed, by events over which human foresight can have no control. Several shocks of an earthquake, attended with the appearance of the meteors that had accompanied that of 1663, now excited great alarm. A deadly epidemic disease, added its horrors to those which the commotions of nature had produced.

Charles the second, unmindful of his father's charter to Sir Robert Heath, about a third of a century before, had in 1663 granted to Lord Clarendon and

others, the territory from the river San Matheo or St. John, in Florida, to the thirty-sixth degree of northern latitude. There was as yet but an insignificant settlement, in this vast extent of country. It was on the north side of Albemarle Sound, and had been formed by stragglers from the colony of Virginia, who, travelling southerly, had stopped at a small distance beyond its southern limit, and had been joined by emigrants, chiefly of the Quaker profession, driven by the intolerant spirit of the people of New England. The new proprietors, having discovered valuable tracts of land not included in their charter, obtained in June 1665, a second and more extensive one. It covers all the territory from the twenty-ninth degree to Wynock, in 36 degrees 30 minutes of northern latitude. They effected shortly after, a small settlement on Cape Fear river, which was afterwards removed farther south, and became the *nucleus* of the state of South Carolina, as that on Albemarle Sound, extending southerly and westerly, became that of North Carolina.

On the seventeenth of September 1665, Philip the fourth of Spain died in his sixtieth year, and was succeeded by his son Charles the second.

The French king, had in 1662, transferred to the West India Company, all the privileges which that of New France had enjoyed; the former, not being in a situation to avail itself immediately of the royal favour, requested that the colonial government might for a while be administered by the king's officer. In the spring of 1667, the Marquis de Tracy, according to the king's order, put the company in formal possession of the country, and soon after sailed for France. Neither the colony, nor the company appear to have derived any great advantage

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from this arrangement; and in the following year, the freedom of commerce in New France was proclaimed.

By the treaty of Breda in 1667, Acadie was restored to the French.

The ecclesiastical government of New France had been hitherto confided to an apostolic vicar, a bishop *in partibus infidelium*, that of Petrea. The pope now erected the city of Quebec, into a bishop's see, and St. Vallier was appointed its first incumbent. This gentleman, however, did not receive the canonical institution, till four years after.

The lords of manors in New France did not enjoy any ecclesiastical patronage; and the bishop who, receiving all the tithes collected in the diocess, was burdened with the support of the curates, had the uncontrolled appointment of them.

It does not appear, that with the exception of the seminary of St. Sulpice, any lord in New France, ever claimed the administration of justice by his own judges. This corporation was in the exercise of this right as lords of the island of Montreal; but they surrendered it to the king in 1692.

The Chevalier de Grandfontaine and Sir John Temple, plenipotentiaries of the French and British crowns, signed in Boston, on the seventh of July 1670, a declaration, by which the right of France to all the country from the river of Pentagoet, to the island of Cape Breton (both inclusive) was recognised. The chevalier was appointed governor of Acadie.

Count de Frontenac succeeded Courcelles, in the government of New France, in the following year. He found it desolated by repeated irruptions of the Iroquois, who came down along the eastern shore of lake Ontario, and descended the St. Lawrence. With the view of checking their approach

this way, he built a fort at Catarocoui, on the lake, near the place where its waters form the river.

The western company, by an edict of February 1670, had been authorised to send to the islands, small coins expressly struck for circulation there, to the amount of one hundred thousand livres, (about \$20,000) and the edict especially provided, they should not circulate elsewhere. In November 1672, however, their circulation was authorized in the king's dominions in North America, and their value was increased one third; pieces of fifteen sous being raised to twenty, and others in the same proportion. At the same time, the practice, that had prevailed in the islands and in new France, of substituting the contract of exchange to that of sale was forbidden. The king ordered, that in future, all accounts, notes, bills, purchases and payments should be made in money, and not by exchange or computation of sugar, or other produce, under pain of nullity. Former contracts, notes, bills, obligations, leases, &c., in which a quantity of sugar, or other produce, was stipulated to be delivered, were resolved by the royal power, into obligations to pay money. This interference in the concerns of individuals created confusion, and the great demand it occasioned for coin, increased its value and occasioned a consequent decrease of land and other property, which had a most mischievous effect.

The Canadians had learnt from the Indians, that there was a large stream to the west, the course of which was unknown; but they had ascertained it did not flow northerly nor easterly; and great hopes were entertained that it might afford a passage to China, or at least to the Gulf of Mexico. Talon, the first intendant of New France, was about returning home, and determined on discovering, before he sailed, the course of this great river.

He engaged, for this purpose, father Marquette. a



recollet monk, who had been for a long time employed in distant missions, and Joliet, a trader of Quebec, and a man of considerable information and experience in Indian affairs. The two adventurers proceeded to the bay of lake Michigan, and entered a river, called by the Indians Outagamis, and by the French, *des renards*. Ascending almost to its source, notwithstanding its falls, they made a small portage to that of Ouisconsing. Descending this stream, which flows westerly, they got into that they were in quest of, on the seventh of July 1673. History has not recorded any account of its having been floated on by any white man, since Muscoso, with the remainder of his army, descended it from Red River to its mouth, about one hundred and thirty years before.

Committing themselves to the current, the holy man and his companion soon reached a village of the Illinois, near the mouth of the Missouri. These Indians gladly received their visitors. Their nation was in alliance with the French, and traders from Canada came frequently among them; a circumstance which had rendered them obnoxious to the Iroquois, whom they found too numerous to be successfully resisted, without the aid of their white friends. The guests were hospitably entertained, and their influence, with the governor and ecclesiastical superior, was solicited, that some aid might be afforded them, and that a missionary might come and reside among them.

After a short stay, the current, which now began to be strong, brought the travellers in a few days to a village of the Arkansas. Believing now they had fully ascertained that the course of the river was towards the Gulf of Mexico, their stock of provisions being nearly exhausted, they deemed it useless and

unsafe to proceed farther, among unknown tribes, on whose disposition prudence forbade to rely. They therefore hastened back to the river of the Illinois, ascended it and proceeded to Chicagou, on lake Michigan. Here they parted: the father returning to his mission, among the Indians on the northern shore of the lake, and the trader going down to Quebec, to impart to their employer the success of their labours. Count de Frontenac gave to the river they had explored the name of Colbert, in compliment to the then minister of the marine.

Joliet's services in this circumstance, were remunerated by a grant of the large island of Anticosti, near the mouth of the river St. Lawrence.

This important discovery filled all Canada with joy, and the inhabitants of the capital followed the constituted authorities of the colony to the cathedral church, where the bishop, surrounded by his clergy, sung a solemn *Te Deum*. Little did they suspect that the event, for which they were rendering thanks to heaven, was marked, in the book of fate, as a principal one among those, which were to lead to the expulsion of the French nation from North America, that Providence had not destined the shores of the mighty stream for the abode of the vassals of any European prince; but had decreed that it should be for a while the boundary, and for ever after roll its waves in the midst of those free and prosperous communities, that now form the confederacy of the United States.

*Robertson.—Charlevoix.—Marshal.*

## CHAPTER IV.

*The French are driven from Acadie.—Complaints of the Canadians against their Governor.—The Abbé de Fenelon.—Sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians.—Representations of the Clergy.—The Archbishop of Paris and Father de la Chaise.—Lasalle proposes to explore the course of the Mississippi.—He goes to France. The Prince of Conti.—The Chevalier de Tonti.—Lasalle returns.—Fort Frontenac.—Adventurers from New-England cross the Mississippi and visit New-Mexico. Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron and Michigan.—Little Miami River.—Illinois.—Lasalle's men endeavour to indispose the Illinois against him.—He defeats their plan.—The intrigue of a Mascoutan Indian.—Attempt to poison Lasalle.—Arkansas.—Dacan.—Hennepin.—Mississippi.—Falls of St. Anthony.—Sioux.—Pennsylvania.—Miamis.—Outagamis.—Ainous.—Mascoutans.—Fort Crevecoeur.—Irruptions of the Iroquois into the country of the Illinois.—Acadie restored to the French.—Fort Penkwit.—Chicagou.—Illinois.—Mississippi River.—The Miami.—Chickasaws.—Fort Prudhome.—Cappas.—Arkansas.—Alligators.—Tarnsas.—Red River.—Quinipissas.—Tangipaos.—Gulf of Mexico.—Lasalle takes possession of the country, at the mouth of the Mississippi.—He calls the river, St. Louis, and the country Louisiana.—He is visited by Indians from several tribes.—He returns.—His party is attacked by the Quinipissas, who are routed.—The Natchez.—Taensas.—Arkansas.—Chickasaw Bluffs.—Lasalle is detained there by sickness.—The Chevalier de Tonti proceeds with part of the men.—They meet at Michillimackinac.—The Chevalier goes to Fort St. Louis, and Lasalle to Quebec.—Count de Frontenac.—Lasalle sails for France.*

THE people of New England saw with a jealous eye, the French in possession of Acadie. On the tenth of August 1674, Chambly, who commanded there, was surprised in the fort of Pentagoet, by an English adventurer, who had lurked in his garrison for several days. This man had procured the aid of the crew of a Flemish privateer, about one hundred in number. The French, being but thirty in the fort, were soon subdued. The victor marched afterwards with a part of his force, to the fort on the river St. John. Manson, who commanded there, was found still less prepared for defence, than his chief. By the capture of these two forts, the only ones which the French had in Acadie, the whole country fell into the power of the invaders. Charles the second, disavowed this act of hostility, committed in a period of profound peace. It had been planned, and the means of its execution had been procured, in Boston.

The absence of causes of external disturbance, gave rise to internal, in Canada. The colonists complained that, through the ill-timed exertion of the influence of Count de Frontenac, the seats in the superior council, which were destined for notable inhabitants, were exclusively filled by men entirely devoted to him—that more suits had been commenced in the last six months, than during the six preceding years. An act of arbitrary power had greatly excited the clergy against him. He had imprisoned the abbe de Fenelon, then a priest of the seminary of St. Sulpice at Montreal, who afterwards became Archbishop of Cambray, and acquired great reputation, in the literary world, as the author of *Telemachus*, on the alleged charge of having preached against him, and of having been officiously industrious in procuring attestations from the inhabitants, in favour of Perrot, whom the count had put under

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arrest. They also complained, that he had, of his own authority, exiled two members of the council, and openly quarelled with the intendant.

Much ill will was created, between him and the bishop, clergy and missionaries, by the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians, which they had hitherto successfully opposed, and the count now countenanced. The priests complained it destroyed the whole fruits of their labour among the converted Indians, and the bishop had declared the breach of the law, in this respect, a sin, the absolution of which was reserved to him alone, in his diocess.

These dissentions were made known to the king, who, with the view of putting a stop to them, directed that an assembly of the most notable inhabitants of the colony, should be convened and express its opinion on the propriety of disallowing the traffic, and that their determination should be laid before the archbishop of Paris and father de la Chaise, an eminent Jesuit, confessor of the king. It was urged in France, that a discontinuance of the sale would deprive the colonial government of the attachment of the natives, who would be induced to carry their furs and peltries to Albany and New York. The two high dignitaries of the church, to whom the sovereign had committed the examination of this question, having conferred with St. Vallier, the Bishop of Quebec, (who had been induced by his zeal in the cause of humanity, to go over and solicit the King's interference) decided, that the sale should not be allowed. This report became the basis of an ordinance, the strictest observance of which was enjoined on the count, and the prelate pledged himself to confine his interference to cases of the most flagrant violation of the ordinance.

Father Marquette had died; and the great joy, which the discovery of the Mississippi had excited, had subsided. Joliet was, perhaps, too much engaged by his own private concerns to prosecute the plans of further discoveries, and the utmost apathy, on this subject prevailed in the colonial government. To the enterprise of a then obscure individual, France owed her success in colonization on the Mississippi.

Robert Cavalier de Lasalle, a native of Rouen, who had spent several years in the order of the Jesuits, and whom this circumstance had prevented from receiving any part of the succession of his parents, who had ended their lives, while he was thus civilly dead, came to Canada, in search of some enterprise that might give him wealth or fame. Such appeared to have been the prosecution of Marquette and Joliet's discoveries. He did not doubt that the mighty stream poured its waters into the Gulf of Mexico; but he fostered the idea, that by ascending it, a way might be found to some other river running westerly and affording a passage to Japan and China.

He communicated his views to count de Frontenac, to whom he suggested the propriety of enlarging the fort at Catarocoui, increasing its force, and thus by holding out protection, induce settlers to improve the surrounding country, which would afford a strong barrier to the rest of the colony in case the Iroquois renewed their irruptions. He presented, as a farther advantage, the facility, which this would give for the building of barques for the extension of trade, along the shores of the lakes, and of the limits of the colonies and the dominions of the king over distant tribes of Indians. The count entered into Lasalle's views; but, as the execution of the proposed plan required considerable disbursements, which he did not choose to order without the minister's directions, he ordered

the projector to go over, to present and explain his plans.

Lasalle, on his arrival, was fortunate enough to procure an introduction to, and gain the notice of the Prince de Conti, whose patronage secured him the most ample success at court. The king granted him letters of nobility, and an extensive territory around the fort at Catarocoui, now called fort Frontenac, on condition of his rebuilding it with stone, and invested him with ample power for prosecuting the projected discoveries, and carrying on trade with the natives. The prince desired Lasalle to take with him the chevalier de Tonti, an Italian officer, who had served in Sicily, where he had lost a hand. He had substituted to it, one made of copper, of which habit enabled him occasionally to make a powerful use. He was the son of the projector of a plan of placing money at interest (not unknown now in the United States) called a tontine; in which the principal, paid in by those who die, is lost to their estates, and enures to the benefit of the survivors.

Daniel Coxe mentions, in his description of the English province of Carolana, that this year, 1678, a considerable number of persons went from New England, on a journey of discovery, and proceeded as far as New Mexico, four hundred and fifty miles beyond the Mississippi, and on their return rendered an account of their discoveries to the government of Boston, as is attested among many others by Colonel Dudley, then one of the magistrates, and afterwards Governor of New England, and since Deputy Governor of the Isle of Wight, under Lord Cutts.

Lasalle, accompanied by the prince's protegée and thirty colonists, among whom were useful mechanics, landed at Quebec on the 15th of September 1678, and proceeded without tarrying, to the entrance

of lake Ontario, then called Frontenac. He immediately employed his men, in rebuilding the fort, and put a barque of forty tons on the stocks. The expedition with which the fort and vessel were completed, gave to the colonial government a high idea of his activity. He was a man of genius, enterprise and perseverance, firm and undaunted. Power rendered him harsh, capricious and haughty. He was ambitious of fame; but this did not render him inattentive to pecuniary advantages.

The barque being launched, Lasalle thought of nothing but trade and discoveries, and left the fort on the 18th of November. After a tedious and dangerous passage, he reached a village called Onontarien, where he purchased provisions, and proceeded to one of the Iroquois, near the falls of Niagara. He stayed but one night there: next morning he went nine miles higher up, where selecting a convenient spot, he traced the lines of a fort, and set his men to work: but, observing this gave umbrage to the Indians, he desisted: to preserve however what was already done, he surrounded it with a palisade.

The season being now far advanced and the cold very severe, he deemed it best to place his men in winter quarters, and sent a party to reconnoitre the way to the Illinois; leaving the rest at Niagara, with the Chevalier de Tonti, he returned to fort Frontenac. In the spring he came back with a considerable stock of merchandise, provisions and amunition: but his vessel was wrecked on approaching the shore; most of the lading was however saved, and put on board of another barque, which his men had constructed during the winter.

He now despatched the chevalier with a few men, to explore the shores and country on the northeast side of lake Erie, then called Conti. The chevalier, after



performing this service, passed to lake Huron, and landed on the northern shore. He there heard of the party who had gone towards the Illinois; they had passed higher up. After viewing the country he returned to Niagara. Lasalle had sold all his goods, and was gone for a new supply; on his return, he brought besides merchandise, a large stock of provisions and three recollet monks to minister to the spiritual wants of his people. The whole party now crossed lake Erie, without accident, but were detained for a long time, by tempestuous weather at Michillimackinac. Lasalle took a view of the isthmus, traded with the Indians, and laid the foundation of a fort. The chevalier proceeded northeasterly, in search of some men who had deserted, and to obtain a better knowledge of the land in those parts. He went a shore near a straight called St. Mary, and following the coast, reached a river which runs from the lake, and after a circuit of two hundred miles falls into the St. Lawrence. After a ramble of eight days he returned to his boat, and reaching the point of the lake, took the southern pass, and landed near a plantation of the Jesuits, where he found the men he was in quest of, and prevailed on them to go back to the party.

In the meanwhile, Lasalle had, in the latter part of September, crossed the lakes Huron and Michigan, then called Tracy and Orleans, and landed in the bay of the Puants, on the 8th of October. From thence he had sent back the barque to Niagara, loaded with furs and skins. Equally attentive to the improvement of his fortune by commerce, and the acquisition of fame by prosecuting his discoveries, he proceeded in canoes with seventeen men to the little Miami, which he reached on the first of November.— He there carried on some trade with the natives.

whom he induced to put themselves under the protection of his sovereign, and with their consent took formal possession of their country for the crown of Francee—recting a fort near the mouth of the stream.

The chevalier, though impatient of joining his leader, had been compelled by contrary weather and want of provisions to put ashore. His men were fatigued and refused to proceed till they had taken some rest. They gathered acorns and killed deer.—The chevalier, taking the boat, committed himself to the waves, promising shortly to return for them; after being tossed, during six days, by a tempest, he reached the fort Lasalle was building on the Little Miami.

In expressing his pleasure at the return of the chevalier, the chief observed, it would have been much greater, if he had seen also the men, who were left behind. This kind of reproof induced the former, as soon as he had rested a while, to return for these men. He had hardly left land when a storm arose and cast him ashore; dragging his boat along, he reached the spot from whence he had started. Calm being restored on the lake, the whole party re-embarked and soon joined Lasalle, who was much pleased at this addition to his force, viewing it as essential to the completion of his plan. Little did he think, these men would prove a source of vexation and distress, and a great obstruction to his views.

He had been successful in his trade, and the fort he had just completed enabled him to keep the Indians in awe, and command the entrance of the lake: he now determined on prosecuting his journey three hundred miles further into the country of the Illinois. Leaving ten men in the new fort, he proceeded up the river with the rest, and after a passage of four days,

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reached the stream that now bears the name of that tribe, and to which he gave that of Seignelay.

Lasalle had now forty men, besides the three friars and the chevalier. Advancing by small journeys, and making frequent excursions to view the country, he came about Christmas to a village of nearly five hundred cabins. It was entirely deserted: the cabins were open and at the mercy of the traveller.— Each was divided into two apartments generally, and coarsely built; the outside covered with mud and the inside with mats. Under each, was a cellar full of corn; an article which the French greatly needed, and of which they did not neglect the opportunity of supplying themselves. Pursuing their way ninety miles further, they came to a lake about twenty miles in circumference, in which they found a great deal of fish. Crossing it, they found themselves again in the current of the river, and came to two Indian camps: On perceiving the party, the natives sent their women and children into the woods, and ranged themselves in battle array, on each side of the stream. Lasalle having put his men in a posture of defence, one of the Indian chiefs advanced, and asked who they were and what was their object in thus coming among them. Lasalle directed his interpreter to answer the party were French; their object was to make the God of heaven known to the natives, and offer them the protection of the king of France, and to trade with them. The Illinois tendered their pipes to their visitors and received them with great cordiality. The French gave them brandy and some tools of husbandry, in return for the provisions taken in their village. Pleased at this token of good faith, the Indians desired Lasalle to tarry, and allow them to entertain him and his men. The women and children came forward, and venison and dried buffalo

meat, with roots and fruit were presented, and three days were spent in convivial mirth.

With the view of impressing his hosts with awe, Lasalle made his people fire two volleys of musketry. The wonder excited by this unexpected thunder had the desired effect. It was improved by the erection of a fort near the river. Uneasy, at his being without intelligence of the barque he had sent to Niagara, richly laden with furs and peltries, and at an appearance of discontent, which forebode mutiny among his men, he gave the fort the name of *Creve Cœur*, Heart Break.

Till now his journey had been fortunate: he had carried his discoveries to the distance of fifteen hundred miles. Forts had been erected at reasonable distances to mark and preserve the possession he had taken of the country. The Indian nations had all willingly or otherwise yielded to his views: the most refractory had suffered him to pass. But his men appeared now tired down, from the length of a journey, the issue of which appeared uncertain, and displeased to spend their time in deserts among wild men; always without guides, often without food.— They broke out in murmurs against the projector and leader of a fatiguing and perilous ramble. His quick penetration did not allow any thing to escape him. He soon discovered their discontent and the mischievous designs of some of them, and exerted himself to avert the impending storm. Assurance of good treatment, the hope of glory, and the successful example of the Spaniards, were laid before his men to calm their minds. Some of the discontented, who had gained an ascendancy over part of the rest, represented to them how idle it was to continue the slaves of the caprice and the dupes of the visions and imaginary hopes of a leader, who considered the distresses

they had borne, as binding them to bear others.— They asked whether they could expect any other reward, for protracted slavery, than misery and indigence, and what could be expected, at the end of a journey, almost to the confines of the earth, and inaccessible seas, but the necessity of returning poorer and more miserable than when they began it. They advised, in order to avert the impending calamity, to return, while they had sufficient strength; to part from a man who sought his own and their ruin; and abandon him to his useless and painful discoveries. They adverted to the difficulty of a return, while their leader by his intelligence and his intrigues, had insured, at the expense of their labours and fatigues, the means of overtaking and punishing them as deserters. They asked whither they could go, without provisions or resources of any kind. The idea was suggested of cutting the tree by the root, ending their misery by the death of the author of it, and thus availing themselves of the fruits of their labours and fatigues. The individuals, who were ready to give their assent to this proposal, were not in sufficient number. It was, however, determined to endeavour to induce the Indians to rise against Lasallé, in the hope of reaping the advantage of the murder, without appearing to have participated in it.

The heads of the mutineers approached the natives, with apparent concern and confidence, told them, that, grateful for their hospitality, they were alarmed at the danger, which threatened them; that Lasalle had entered into strong engagements with the Iroquois, their greatest enemies; that he had advanced into their country to ascertain their strength, build a fort to keep them in subjection, and his meditated return to Fort Frontenac had no

other object, than to convey to the Iroquois the information he had gained, and invite them to an irruption, while his force among the Illinois was ready to co-operate with them.

Too ready an ear was given to these allegations; Lasalle discovered instantly a change in the conduct of the Indians, but not at first its cause. He was successful in his endeavours to obtain a disclosure of it. He communicated to the Indians, the grounds he had of suspecting the perfidy of some of his men. He asked how impossible it was, that he could connect himself with the Iroquois. He said, he considered that nation as a perfidious one, and there could be neither credit nor safety in an alliance with these savages, thirsting for human blood, without faith, law or humanity, and instigated only by their brutality and interest. He added, he had declared himself the friend of the Illinois, and opened his views to them on his arrival among them.

The smallness of his force precluded the belief of an intention in him to subdue any Indian tribe, and the ingenuous calmness with which he spoke, gained him credit; so that the impression, made by some of his men on the Indians, appeared totally effaced.

This success was, however, of small duration. An Indian of the Mascoutan, (a neighbouring tribe) called Mansolia, an artful fellow, was engaged by the Iroquois, to induce the Illinois to cut off the French. He loitered till night came on, in the neighbourhood of the camp; then entering it, stopping at different fires, and having made presents to, and collected the head men, he opened the subject of his mission. He began, by observing that the common interest of all the Indian tribes, but the par-

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particular one of his and the Illinois, had induced his countrymen to depute him to the latter, to consult on the means of averting an impending calamity; that the French made rapid strides, in their attempt to subjugate every nation from the lakes to the sea; employing not only their own men, but the Indians themselves; that their alliance with the Iroquois was well known, and the fort, they had erected among the Illinois, was only a prelude to further encroachments, as soon as they were joined by their confederates; and if they were suffered to remain unmolested, it would soon be too late to resist, and the evil prove without a remedy; but while they were so small in number and that of the Illinois was so superior, they might be easily destroyed, and the blow they meditated ward off.

This fellow's suggestions, deriving strength from their coincidence with those of Lasalle's men, had the desired effect. The suspicions, which Lasalle's address and candour had allayed, were awakened, and the head men spent the night in deliberation.

In the morning, all the desultory hopes he had built on the apparent return of confidence, vanished on his noticing the cold reserve of some of the chiefs, and the unconcealed distrust and indignation of others. He vainly sought to discover the immediate cause of the change. He knew not whether it would not be better, to entrench himself in the fort. Alarmed and surprised, but unable to remain in suspense, he boldly advanced into the midst of the Indians, collected in small groups, and speaking their language sufficiently to be understood, he asked, whether he would ever have to begin and ever see diffidence and distrust on their brows. He observed, he had parted with them the preceding eve in peace and friendship, and he now found them armed and

some of them ready to fall on him: he was naked and unarmed in the midst of them, their ready and willing victim, if he could be convicted of any machination against them.

Moved at his open and undaunted demeanor, the Indians pointed to the deputy of the Mascoutans, sent to apprise them of his scheme and connection with their enemies. Rushing boldly towards him, Lasalle, in an imperious tone, demanded what token, what proof existed of this alleged connection. Mansolia, thus pressed, replied, that in circumstances, in which the safety of a nation was concerned, full evidence was not always required to convict suspicious characters; the smallest appearances often sufficed to justify precautions; and as the address of the turbulent and seditious consisted in the dissimulation of their schemes, that of the chiefs of a nation did in the prevention of their success; in the present circumstances, his past negotiations with the Iroquois, his intended return to Fort Frontenac, and the fort he had just built, were sufficient presumptions to induce the Illinois to apprehend danger, and take the steps necessary to prevent their fall into the snare he seemed to prepare.

Lasalle replied, it behoved the Illinois to prepare means of defence; but not against the French, who had come among them to protect and unite them in an alliance with the other tribes, under the patronage of the king of France; that the Iroquois had already subjugated the Miamis, Quichapoo and the Mascoutanks, they now sought to add the Illinois to these nations; but they durst not make the attempt while they were connected with the French, and with the view of depriving them of the advantage, they derived from their union, they had made use of an individual of a conquered tribe

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as an emissary, greatly apprehending little credit would be given to one of their own; that all the intercourse he had with the Iroquois, was the purchase of a few skins; that he had built Fort Frontenac and another on the Miami to arrest their progress (a circumstance that excited their jealousy) and Fort Crevecoeur was erected to protect the Illinois, and such of his men as remained with them.

His uniform candour, since he came among the Illinois, gained him credit with them; and Mansolia at last confessed the Iroquois had caused the rumour of his connexion with them to be spread, in order to excite distrust against him among the Illinois.

A good understanding being now restored. Lasalle finding himself on a stream that led to the Mississippi, divided his men into two parties; one of which was to ascend the great river, reconnoitre the country near its shores, visit the tribes below, as far as the sea, and enter into alliances with them. The other party was to remain in the fort.

Some of his men, seeing him making preparations for his departure, and finding it impossible to counteract his views, determined on destroying him. Accordingly, on Christmas day, they threw poison into the kettle, in which his dinner was preparing, expecting, that if they could get rid of him and his principal officers, they could obtain all the goods and other property in the fort. The scheme was very near being successful. A few minutes after the officers rose from table, they were attacked with convulsions and cold sweats. Suspecting what had happened, they took theriack instantly, and this attention prevented the consequences of the dire attempt. These wretches, perceiving their conduct

could not pass unnoticed, fled into the woods, and escaped the pursuit of their commander.

Dacan was selected for the command of the party, which was intended for the expedition to the Mississippi. Father Louis Hennepin, attended it as Chaplain; it left Fort Crevecœur on the twenty-eighth of February 1680. Descending the river of the Illinois to the Mississippi, Dacan ascended the latter stream to the forty-sixth degree of northern latitude, where his progress was stopped by a fall, to which he gave the name of St. Anthony, which it still retains. There the party was attacked and defeated by a body of the Sioux, and led into captivity. They did not experience much ill treatment, and were at last enabled to effect their escape, by the aid of some French traders from Canada. On regaining their liberty, they floated down the river to the sea, according to some accounts, and according to others to the river of the Arkansas, and returned to Fort Crevecœur.

The year 1680, is remarkable for the grant of Charles the second, to William Penn, of the territory that now constitutes the states of Pennsylvania and Delaware. The grantee, who was one of the people called Quakers, imitating the example of Guheln Usseling and Roger Williams, disowned a right to any part of the country included within his charter, till the natives voluntarily yielded it on receiving a fair consideration. There exists not any other example of so liberal a conduct towards the Indians of North America, on the erection of a new colony. The date of Penn's charter is the twentieth of February.

Lasalle had remained in Fort Crevecœur, after the departure of his men under Dacan, until the fall,

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and having given the command of its small garrison to the Chevalier de Tonti, left it for Fort Frontenac early in November. On the third day of his march, he reached the first village of the Illinois. Noticing a beautiful situation, in the neighbourhood of several tribes, the Miamis, Outagemis, the Kickapoos, the Ainous and Mascoutangs, he determined on building a fort on an eminence, which commanded the country, as a means of keeping the Indians in awe, and a stopping place or retreat for his countrymen. While he was there, two men whom he had sent in the fall to Michillimachinac, in order to procure intelligence of a barque, which he had ordered to be built there, joined him. They reported that they had not been able to obtain any information. In fact, they had set fire to her, after having sold her lading to the Iroquois; a circumstance which Lasalle strongly suspected. He sent them to the Chevalier with a plan of the intended fort, and directions to come and execute it. He now proceeded on his way towards Fort Frontenac.

The Chevalier had hardly arrived and began the fort, before the officer he had left at the head of the garrison of Fort Crevecoeur, sent to apprise him, that the two men, lately come from Michillimachinack, having found associates among the soldiers, had pillaged the fort, and fled into the woods; leaving only seven or eight men, who had refused to join them. This induced the Chevalier to return. He found Fort Crevecoeur entirely destitute, and took measures to conceal this misfortune from the Indians, and to make it known to Lasalle.

A large party of the Iroquois fell on the Illinois; a circumstance which induced some of the latter, to apprehend that there might be some truth in the report of an alliance between their enemy and the

French. The Chevalier, having no force to assist the Illinois, successfully afforded them his good offices as a mediator, with the aid of fathers Gabriel and Zenobe, who had remained with him. It was believed in Canada, that the Iroquois had been excited by the English at Albany and the enemies of Lasalle.

Charles the second having disowned the invasion of Acadie in 1674, and it having been accordingly restored to the French, with the fort of Pentagoet, and that of the river St. John, a small settlement had been formed at Port Royal. The English had built a fort between the rivers Kennebeck and Pentagoet, which they had called Penkuit. The Abenakis claimed the country on which it stood, and complained of its erection. The English induced the Iroquois to fall on these Indians, who being unable at once to withstand these white and red enemies, reconciled themselves to the former. The English, being so far successful, invaded Acadie and took the forts at Pentagoet and the river St. John. Valliere, who commanded at Port Royal, could not prevent the inhabitants from surrendering that place. Thus were the French once more driven from the country.

Lasalle in the meanwhile, arrived at Fort Creve-cœur, and placed a garrison of fifteen men there, under a trusty officer, and proceeded up with workmen to finish the other which he called Fort St. Louis. Leaving the workmen in it, he hastened to meet the Chevalier at Michillimachinack, which he reached on the fifteenth of August. After having refreshed himself and his men for a few days, he sat off with the Chevalier and father Zenobe for Fort Frontenac. After a day's sail, he reached a village of the Iroquois, where he traded for peltries, and leaving his two companions there, he proceeded to

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the fort, from whence he sent a barque loaded with merchandise, provisions and ammunition, and a number of recruits. The Chevalier and the father went in her to the neighbourhood of the falls of Niagara, where taking her lading over land to lake Erie, after a short navigation, they landed on the shores of the Miami. Here the Chevalier exchanged some goods for corn, and the party increased their provision of meat by the chase; and were joined by a few Frenchmen, and a number of Indians of the Abenakis, Loup and Quicapoos.

They here tarried till the latter part of November, when, Lasalle having joined them, they ascended the river to the mouth of the Chicagou, and went up to a portage of a mile that led them to the river of the Illinois. They spent the night near a large fire, the cold being extremely intense. In the morning, the water courses being all frozen, they proceeded to an Indian village, in which they staid for several days. After visiting Fort St. Louis and Fort Crevecoeur, the weather softening, they floated down the river of the Illinois to the Mississippi, which they entered on the second of February.

The party stopped a while at the mouth of the Missouri, and on the following day reached a village of the Tamoas, the inhabitants of which had left their houses to spend the winter in the woods. They made a short stay at the mouth of the Ohio, floating down to the Chickasaw bluffs, one of the party, going into the woods, lost his way. This obliged Lasalle to stop. He visited the Indians in the neighbourhood, and built a fort, as a resting place for his countrymen navigating the river. At the solicitation of the Chickasaw chiefs, he went to their principal village, attended by several of his men. They were entertained with much cordiality, and

the Indians approved of his leaving a garrison in the fort he was building. The Chickasaws were a numerous nation, able to bring two thousand men into the field. Presents were reciprocally made, and the French and Indians parted in great friendship. Lasalle, on reaching his fort, was much gratified to find the man, who was missing. He left him to finish the fort, and to command its small garrison. His name was Prudhomme; it was given to the fort—and the bluff, on which the white banner was then raised, to this day is called by the French *ecor a Prudhome*. This is the first act of formal possession, taken by the French nation of any part of the shores of the Mississippi. The spot was, however, included within the limits of the territory granted by Charles the first to Sir Robert Heath, and by Charles the second to Lord Clarendon and his associates.

Lasalle continued his route in the latter part of February, and did not land during the three first days. On the fourth, he reached a village of the Capps. As he advanced towards the landing, he heard the beating of drums. This induced him to seek the opposite shore, and to throw up a small work of defence; soon after a few Indians came across; Lasalle sent one of his men to meet them with a calumet, which was readily accepted. They offered to conduct the party to their village, promising them safety and a good supply of provisions. The invitation was accepted, and two Indians went forward to announce the approach of the French. A number of the chiefs came to the shore to meet the guests, and lead them to the village; where they were lodged in a large cabin, and supplied with bear skins to lie on. The object of Lasalle's expedition being inquired into, he told his hosts, he and his men were subjects of the king of France, who

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had sent them to reconnoitre the country, and offer to the Indians his friendship, alliance and protection. Corn and smoked buffalo meat were brought in, and the French made presents of suitable goods. When Lasalle took leave, two young men were given him as guides to the Arkansas.

This tribe dwelt about twenty-five miles lower. They had three villages; the second was at the distance of twenty-five miles from the first. They gave the French a friendly reception. In the last village many Indians being assembled, Lasalle with their assent took possession of the country for his sovereign, fixing the arms of France on a lofty tree, and causing them to be saluted by a discharge of musketry. The awe, which this unexpected explosion excited, increased the respect of the natives for their visitors, whom they earnestly pressed to tarry.

On the day after their departure, the French saw for the first time alligators, some of which were of an enormous size.

The next nation towards the sea was the Taensas, who dwelt at the distance of about one hundred and eighty miles from the Arkansas. On approaching their first village, Lasalle despatched the Chevalier de Tonti towards it. It stood on a lake, at some distance from the river. The chief received the Chevalier kindly, and came with him to meet Lasalle. The healths of the king of France and of the chief of the Taensas were drank in this interview, under a volley of musketry. A supply of provisions was obtained; some presents were made to the natives, and the French departed and floated down the river.

On the second day, a pirogue approached from the shore, apparently to reconnoitre the party. The Chevalier was sent to chase her, and as he came

near, about one hundred Indians appeared on the shore, with bent bows. Lasalle, on seeing them, recalled the Chevalier; and the French went and camped on the opposite shore, presenting their muskets. The Indians now laid their bows on the ground, and the Chevalier went over with a calumet. Lasalle seeing it accepted, came over, and was led by the Indians to their village. The chief expressed much joy at the sight of the French, and detained them a few days. At their departure, he made his people carry dried fruit, corn and venison to their boats. Lasalle gave him a sword, an axe, a kettle and a few knives. After firing a salute, the French proceeded to a village of the Coroas, twenty-five miles further.

On the twenty-seventh of March, they encamped at the mouth of Red River.

Further down, they fell in with a party of the Quinipissas who were fishing, and who on perceiving them went a shore, where a drum was beaten and a number of men made their appearance armed with bows. Lasalle directed some of his men to advance, but they were briskly repulsed. Four Indians, whom he had taken as guides at the last village, advanced with as little success, and no further attempt to land was made.

Two days after, the French came to a village of the Tangipaos. It was entirely deserted, and despoiled of every thing. Several dead bodies lay in heaps. The scene was too disgusting to allow the party to stop.

After descending the river several days, Lasalle took notice that the water of the Mississippi became brackish, and shortly after the sea was discovered. This was on the seventh of April.

Lasalle sailed along the coast for a while, and

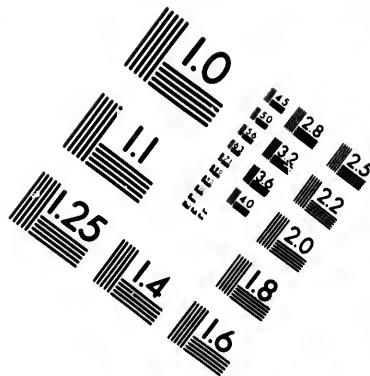
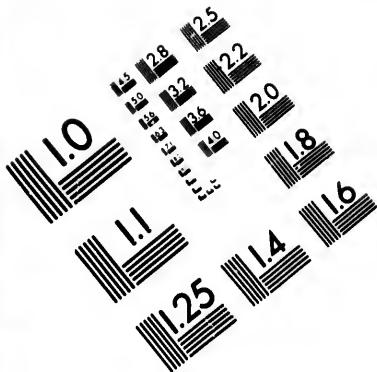


returning to the mouth of the river, caused a *Te Deum* to be sung. The boats were hauled aground, recaulked, and a few temporary huts erected. A cross was placed on a high tree, with the escutcheon of France, in token of the solemn possession taken for the king. Lasalle called the river St. Louis and the country Louisiana.

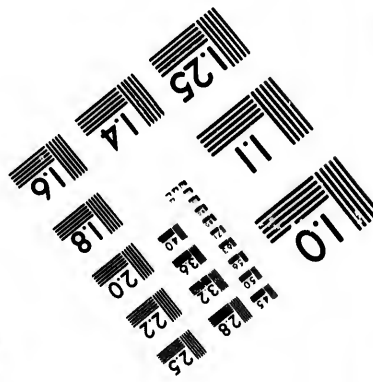
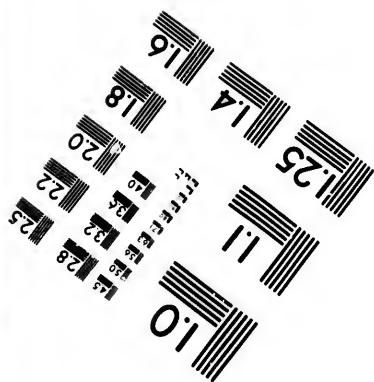
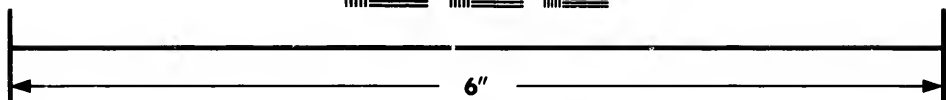
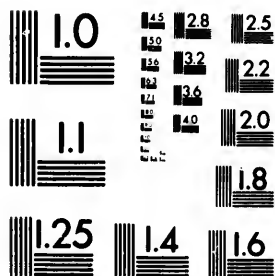
Parties of the Tangipaos and Quinipissas came on the next day to hunt buffaloes, which were in abundance in the neighbouring cane brakes. The Indians were successful in their chase, and presented the French with three of these animals.

After resting a few days, the party sat off. It now consisted of sixty persons, white and red. They were soon tired of stemming the current, which was now very strong, and proceeded along the shore to the Quinipissas. As these Indians had manifested no hospitable disposition, Lasalle deemed it prudent to take some precautions. Accordingly, four Indians were sent forward; they returned in the evening with as many Quinipissa women, who were sent back in the morning with presents, and desired to inform their countrymen, the French requested nothing but a supply of provisions and their friendship; and were willing liberally to pay for what they might obtain. A few hours after, four chiefs came with provisions, and requested Lasalle to stop with his men in their village. On their arrival there, water fowls and fruit were given them, and at night they encamped between the village and the river. In the morning, their treacherous hosts attacked them, but they did not find them asleep. Lasalle had constantly a sentry, and warmly repelled the assailants. Five of them were killed, and the rest fled. After this blow, Lasalle proceeded on without stopping, till he reached the Natchez, who were



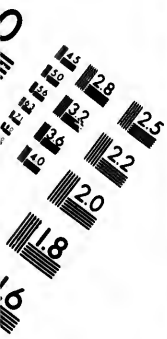


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much pleased at seeing the scalps of the Quinipissas, in the hands of the Indians accompanying him.

The French, being invited to an entertainment, noticed with surprise that not a woman of their hosts was among them. A moment after, a number of armed men appeared. Lasalle immediately arose and ordered his men to take their arms. The head man requested him not to be alarmed, and directed the armed ones of his nation to halt; informing his guests they were a party, who had been skirmishing with the Iroquois, and assured them that no individual of his nation harboured any other sentiment towards the French, but that of esteem and friendship. Notwithstanding this assurance, the French sat off in the belief that Lasalle's quick motion had averted a blow.

The Taensas and Arkansas received the party, with as much cordiality as when they went down. The French left the latter tribe on the twelfth of May, and stopped at Fort Prudhomme. Lasalle found himself too unwell to proceed: he therefore sent the Chevalier de Tonti forward, with twenty men, French and Indians. His indisposition, detained him among the Chickasaws for nearly two months, and he joined the Chevalier at Michillimachinack, in the latter part of September. They spent a few days together there, and the latter went to take the command of Fort St. Louis of the Illinois, and the former continued his route to Quebec.

The Count de Frontenac had sailed for France some time before Lasalle's arrival. The relation the latter gave of his expedition, excited great joy in Canada. He was impatient to announce his success to his sovereign, and took shipping for France in October.

*Charlevoix.—Tonti.—Hennepin.*

## CHAPTER V.

*Le Febvre de la Barre.—De Meules.—Lasalle arrives in France.—The Marquis of Seignelai.—Expedition for the Mississippi.—Volunteers, soldiers and colonists, mechanics, priests.—The fleet weighs anchor, under Beaujeu.—Hispaniola.—Cuba.—Beaujeu misses the mouth of the Mississippi, and is driven westwardly.—Bay of St. Bernard.—Lasalle attempts to find the Mississippi by land.—Indians.—One of the vessels is cast ashore.—James II.—Commerce of Canada.—Champigny de Norroy.—Card money.—Beaujeu sails for France.—A fort built at the western extremity of the bay of St. Bernard.—Another attempt to find the Mississippi.—Point Hurier.—An establishment commenced on the banks of Rio Colorado, or Riviere aux vaches.—The fortifications on the gulf are demolished, and all the colonists remove to Colorado, where they build a new fort.—The Chevalier de Tonti descends the Mississippi, in search of the colonists.—They are distressed by disease, Indian hostilities and famine.—Last attempt to find the Mississippi.—Irruptions of the Iroquois in Canada.—The Marquis de Denonville.—His correspondence with the Governor of New York.—Paperboard money.—Lasalle loses his last vessel, and sets off for the Illinois.—Buffaloes.—Biscatonge Indians.—Chinonoas.—Rattle Snake.—Cenis.—Nassonites.—Sickness and return of Lasalle.—State of the colony.—Lasalle determines to return to France, by the way of Canada.—One of his party falls sick, is sent back and killed by the Indians.—Resentment of his brother.—The party stops to kill buffaloes, and cure the meat.—Mutiny.—Lasalle and his nephew are murdered.—Division of the party.—The murderers quarrel and some of them*

*are killed ; the others seek refuge among the Indians.—Lasalle's brother, Father Athanase and five others, reach the Arkansas.—Couture and Delaunay.—Lasalle's brother and his companions go to the Illinois, and from thence to Quebec, and embark for France.*

**LE FEBVRE DE LA BARRE**, the successor of Count de Frontenac in the government of New France, and de Meules, the new intendant, landed at Quebec in the spring of 1683.

Lasalle was received at court, with all the attention due to a man, who had planned and carried into execution, an enterprise so useful to the nation ; and the Marquis de Seignelay, who had succeeded Colbert, his father, in the ministry of the Marine, gave directions some time after for the preparation of an expedition at la Rochelle, in order to enable Lasalle to plant a French colony, on the banks of the Mississippi.

The vessels, destined for this service, were the king's ship the *Joli*, the frigate the *Aimable*, the brig *la Belle* and the ketch *St. Francis*. The command of them was given to *Beaujeu*.

Twelve young gentlemen accompanied Lasalle as volunteers ; a company of fifty soldiers was given him, and the king granted a free passage, and made a liberal advance in money, provisions and implements of husbandry, to twelve families who consented to emigrate. A number of useful mechanics were also embarked, with some other individuals. In order to provide for the spiritual wants of these people, five clergymen, one of whom was Lasalle's brother, were sent. Thus, besides the officers and crews, about two hundred and fifty persons accompanied Lasalle.

*Beaujeu* did not, however, weigh anchor till the

fourth of July 1684. He shaped his course for Hispaniola; but before he reached it, a storm scattered his small fleet. The Aimable and the Belle reached together Petit Goave, where the Joli had arrived before them. The St. Francis, being a dull sailor, was overtaken and captured by two Spanish privateers. A severe indisposition detained Lasalle on shore for several days; during which, many of his people, yielding to the incitement of a warm climate, favoured by the want of occupation, became the victims of intemperance and consequent disease; and several died.

The fleet sat sail on the twenty-fifth of November, and was for many days becalmed; on the ninth of December, it was before the Cape *de los corrientes* in the island of Cuba, and on the twenty-seventh, their observation showed them to be in the twenty-eighth degree of northern latitude. Their reckoning announced the approach of land, and towards sun down, they found bottom in thirty-two fathoms. Lasalle and Beaujeu determined on sailing W. N. W., till the water shoaled to six fathoms, and on the twenty-ninth they saw land, at the apparent distance of six leagues.

There was no person in the fleet, acquainted with the coast. Lasalle, noticing a strong current easterly, thought himself near the Apalaches. The vessels continued sailing in the same direction, and on new year's day the anchor was cast in six fathoms, the land appearing distant about four leagues. Two boats were ordered ashore. Lasalle went in one of them. He had hardly landed, when the wind growing fresher and fresher, he was compelled to return; the other boat was behind and followed him back. The land was flat and woody. He took an observation, and found himself in twenty-nine, ten.



The weather was hazy, and the wind continued high. The coast appeared lined with battures and breakers. Sailing again W. N. W. as soon as the wind abated, they vainly sought for several days the mouth of the Mississippi. On the thirteenth, they sent ashore for water; a number of Indians came along the beach; the wind was from the sea. The fleet cast anchor, within half a league from the shore. The natives seemed by gestures, to seek to induce the French to land. They shewed their bows, then laid them on the ground, and walked composedly along, with arms akimbo. A white handkerchief was waved at the end of a musket, as an invitation to them to approach. Throwing a log into the water, they swam aboard, each keeping one arm on the log.

Lasalle attempted in vain to make himself understood. The natives pointed to hogs, fowls and the hide of a cow, apparently desirous to convey the idea of their having such animals. Small presents were made, which seemed to gratify them much. When they went back, the shallowness of the water preventing the close approach of the boats, the Indians swam away. The French thought the natives gave them to understand there was a great river near, which occasioned the battures.

Lasalle now began seriously to apprehend he had passed the Mississippi, and proposed to Beaujeu to sail back. The naval commander was of a different opinion, and nothing was determined on for several days. At last, Lasalle selecting half a dozen of men, undertook to seek the mighty stream by a march along the shore. The weather was extremely hazy, the land low, flat and sandy, destitute of grass, and fresh water was only to be found in stagnant pools. He noticed numerous tracks of deer, and saw a great

number of water fowls; having wandered from day break till three o'clock, Lasalle began to despair, and brought his men back; he spent several days in vain attempts to induce Beaujeu to come to some determination.

He next landed one hundred and twenty men, with the view of sending them along the shore, while the Belle sailed in the same direction, till they reached the river he was in quest of. He gave the command of them to Joutel, who marched at their head on the fourth of February, and on the eighth came to a wide stream, on the banks of which he halted for the Belle. Tired of waiting, Joutel had ordered a raft to be built to cross the stream, when the Joli and the Belle hove in sight, and Lasalle came soon after with the Aimable. Beaujeu, now ordered out the boats of the three vessels, to sound on the bar, and in the channel, which he directed to be staked. Finding there was a sufficiency of water, it was thought best to bring the shipping over the bar. The Joli and the Belle accordingly came in, and anchored in safety, but the Aimable struck on the bar and soon after went ashore. It was believed, that design, not accident, had occasioned this misfortune; Aigran, who commanded her, having refused to receive on board a pilot of the Belle, sent by Lasalle, to follow the stakes, or permit an anchor to be cast, when the vessel struck. During the night, the wind rose and the waves became violent; she went to pieces with a boat of the Joli, which had been used in saving part of her lading, and had been left fastened to the wreck. Lasalle had to lament, with the loss of this vessel, that of a quantity of provisions, ammunition and implements of husbandry. He saved a few barrels of flour, wine and brandy, and some powder.

A party of Indians came to the camp; he made them some trifling presents, with which they appeared much pleased. At their request, he visited their village, consisting of about fifty cabins, at a small distance from the shore. Other parties on the following day hovered around the camp, without venturing to attack it. They captured and carried off two white men, who had straggled to a distance. A party went in pursuit of them, and compelled the surrender of the prisoners. The Indians returned a few nights afterwards in great numbers: and, just at the dawn of day, the camp was assailed by a volley of arrows, which killed two and wounded several men in the camp. An instant and rapid flight enabled the Indians to avoid pursuit.

On the sixth of February 1685, on the demise of Charles the second of England, at the age of fifty-five, without issue, his brother James the second, succeeded him.

With the view of encreasing the commerce of New France, and affording to the nobility of Canada the means of extending their fortunes, Louis the fourteenth, by an edict of the month of March of the same year, permitted them to engage in trade, by land and sea, without thereby committing any act of derogation.

This wise measure at home, was followed by one of a different character in the colony. Canada was greatly distressed by the scarcity of a circulating medium, universally felt in all new settlements, and Champigny de Norroy, who succeeded de Meules in the intendancy, sought relief in an emission of card money, which was put into circulation, under an ordinance of the governor and intendant.

Each card bore the stamp of the king's arms, and its value, was signed by the colonial treasurer, and

had the coats of arms of the governor and intendant, impressed on wax.

Beaujeu sailed for France on the fifteenth of March, in the *Joli*, taking with him the captain and most of the crew of the *Aimable*. He refused to land a number of cannon balls, which he had brought for the colony, on the pretence that they were in the bottom of his ship, and he could not unload her without risk. He left twelve pieces of cannon, but not a single ball.

After his departure, Lasalle occupied himself in building a fort at the western extremity of the bay, which now bears the name of St. Bernard, and garrisoned it with one hundred men. Leaving Morangies, his nephew, in command there, he sat off with a party of fifty men, accompanied by the abbe de Lasalle his brother, and two recollet friars, father Zenobe, who had descended the Mississippi with him a few years before, and father Maxime. His object was to seek for the mouth of the Mississippi river, at the bottom of the bay. The captain of the *Belle*, was directed to sound this estuary in his boats, and to bring the vessel as far as he could; he followed the coast to a point, which was called Point Hurier, after an officer, who was left there with a few men, to throw up a small work. The party now proceeded to the eastern extremity of the bay, and to a considerable distance beyond, and returned without finding the Mississippi.

In the middle of April, Lasalle established a new post sixteen miles up a river, which from the number of cows he found on its bank, he called Cow River; it is believed to be the one called by the Spaniards *Rio Colorado de Texas*. A party of Indians came to attack him; but they were repulsed.

Towards the latter part of the month, Lasalle re-

turned to the fort, in which he had left Morangies. On Easter Sunday, divine service was performed with great solemnity, every one receiving the sacrament.

This fort and the small work thrown up by Hurier, were now abandoned and demolished; all the colonists removing to the new settlement, with all their effects. The ground was prepared for cultivation, and a number of houses were erected for common and private use. A fort was built, in which twelve pieces of cannon were mounted, and a large subterraneous magazine made. The fort was called Fort St. Louis.

In the mean while, the chevalier de Tonti, having received intelligence from Canada of the departure of a fleet from France, in which Lasalle was bringing colonists to the Mississippi, left the fort at the Illinois, in order to meet his former chief. The Indians every where greeted the chevalier, who reached the mouth of the river, without being able to receive any information of his countrymen. He staid there several weeks, and the boats, which he sent towards the east and west in search of Lasalle, returned without any account of him. Despairing of being more successful if he staid longer, he reluctantly reascended the stream. The tree, on which Lasalle had two years before placed the escutcheon of France, had been uprooted in a storm, and the chevalier raised another token of the possession taken for the king, on the banks of the river, about twenty miles from the sea. Mortified and chagrined, he progressed slowly, stopping in the villages on the way, endeavouring to obtain some account of the French colonists. All his attempts proved fruitless, and he reached his fort among the Illinois, in the month of May.

During the fall, most of the colonists on *Rio Colorado* sickened and many died.

The Indians frequently came near the fort, and at times killed such of the French who strayed into the woods. Lasalle marched against them, with a party whom he had provided with a kind of wooden jackets, that protected them against arrows. He killed several Indians, and made some prisoners. A little girl about four years of age, who was then taken, was the first of the natives, who received baptism in the colony.

Disease and the fatigues of this kind of warfare, interrupted so much the labours of agriculture, that but a scanty crop was made. The seed grain having been brought shelled was a circumstance that had its effect, in disappointing the hopes of the sower: wheat seldom coming well in virgin ground, when the seed has not been kept in the ear.

The captain of the *Belle*, having gone a hunting with half a dozen of his men, was surprised by a party of Indians, who slew them all. After paying the last duty to their bodies, Lasalle and his brother, attended by twenty men, left the fort with the view of resuming the search of the Mississippi.

The bay he was on received a number of rivers, none of which was of such a depth or width, as allowed it to be considered as a branch of the mighty one. Lasalle visited them all. He was impeded in his progress by the difficulty of crossing them, by almost incessant rains, and the necessity, at every stage, to provide against a sudden attack. On the thirteenth of February 1686, he came to so wide and deep a stream, that he suspected it to be that he was looking for. He threw up a light work on its banks, in which he placed nine men. Proceeding higher up, he came to a large village of Indians,

where he was cordially received. From the information he received, he was convinced his conjecture was erroneous: after a further progress, he retrograded, took back his nine men, and returned to the settlement which he reached on the last day of May.

The Iroquois encouraged and aided by governor Dongan of New York, continued their irruptions on the frontier settlements of Canada, and Louis the fourteenth was induced, at the pressing solicitations of the colonists, to send a body of troops to their succour. Labarre being old and infirm, the Marquis de Denonville was sent to relieve him. In his first communication to the minister, which is of the eighth of May 1686, this officer recommended the erection of a fort, with a garrison of four or five hundred men at Niagara, to shut out the English from the lakes; secure exclusively the fur trade to Canada, afford an asylum to the allied Indians, and deprive deserters from the king's troops of the facility of joining the English at Albany; who employed them as guides in military and commercial excursions, among the tribes in alliance with the French.

The Marquis increased the garrison of Fort Fontenac, and furnished it abundantly with provisions and ammunition. This gave umbrage to governor Dongan, who wrote him the Iroquois considered this reinforcement as the prelude to the invasion of their country; that these Indians were the allies, nay the subjects of the English crown, and an act of hostility against them could only be viewed as an infraction of the peace, which existed between France and England; that he was informed a fort was about to be erected at Niagara; a circumstance which surprised him the more, as the Marquis, though but lately arrived in America, could not well

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be supposed ignorant of that part of the country being within the province of New York.

The Marquis answered, that the consciousness of the Iroquois, that they deserved chastisement, could alone excite their apprehensions: however, the supplies sent to Fort Fontenac ought not to have alarmed these Indians, as there had always been a large garrison at that post, and the difficulty of supplying it rendered it necessary to improve every opportunity; that the governor was under an error, as to the right of his sovereign to the country of the Iroquois; he ought to have known, that the French had taken possession of it, long before any Englishman came to New York; that, however, as the kings of England and France were now at peace, it did not behoove their officers in America, to enter into any altercation about their rights.

Louis the fourteenth having approved the emission of card money made in Canada, during the preceding year, another emission was now prepared in Paris, in which pasteboard was used instead of cards. An impression was made on each piece, of the coin of the kingdom, of the corresponding value.

Pasteboard proving inconvenient, cards were again resorted to. Each had the flourish, which the intendant usually added to his signature. He signed all those of the value of four livres and upwards, and those of six livres and above, were also signed by the governor.

Once a year, at a fixed period, the cards were required to be brought to the colonial treasury, and exchanged for bills on the treasurer-general of the marine, or his deputy at Rochefort. Those, which appeared too ragged for circulation, were burnt, and the rest again paid out of the treasury.

For awhile, the cards were thus punctually ex-



changed once a year; but in course of time, bills ceased to be given for them. Their value, which till then had been equal to gold, now began to diminish; the price of all commodities rose proportionably, and the colonial government was compelled, in order to meet the increased demands on its treasury, to resort to new and repeated emissions; and the people found a new source of distress, in the means adopted for their relief.

The English colonies in America, in the latter part of the seventeenth and the first of the eighteenth century, had also recourse to emissions of paper currency. They every where yielded at first, a momentary relief. The currency borrowed its value from confidence; moderation might have preserved, but profusion almost universally destroyed it, and the depreciated paper proved a greater evil than that it was intended to remedy.

The earliest emissions in these colonies, date in those of New England of 1696, in New York of 1709, in New Jersey of 1720, in Pennsylvania of 1722, in Delaware of 1730, in North Carolina and Barbadoes of 1705, and in South Carolina of 1703. If the colonies of Maryland and Virginia, during the period of their dependence on the crown, had no paper currency (a circumstance which has not been ascertained) it was probably owing to their finding in tobacco, their staple commodity, the means of substituting the contract of exchange to that of sale. Merchants there kept their accounts in pounds of tobacco, and the fees of the colonial officers were by law fixed and made payable in that article.

A few days after the return of Lasalle to the fort, the Belle was cast ashore in a hurricane and bilged. The officer who commanded her, the chaplain and four of her crew, alone escaped. With her, thirty-

six barrels of flour, some wine and a quantity of merchandize were lost. She was the only vessel remaining in the colony, and would have been of vast service to Lasalle; he expected to have sailed in her to Hispaniola, in search of succour. On the loss of his last vessel, he determined to proceed to Fort St. Louis of the Illinois, in order to apprise government of his miscarriage, and solicit farther aid.

Accompanied by his brother and nephew, by father Athanase, fifteen other Frenchmen and two trusty Indians, who had followed him from Canada, on the twenty-second of May, mass having been said to implore the benediction of heaven on his journey, he sat off and travelled northeasterly, taking with him two canoes and two sleighs.

He crossed several streams, and saw large herds of buffaloes, among which were a few horses, so wild that they could not be caught without great address and much difficulty. Every night, he took the precaution of surrounding his camp with poles, to guard against surprise. On the twenty-fifth, towards noon, he met with four Indians on horseback, of a tribe called the Quoaquis; their dress was chiefly of leather; they had boots, saddles and a kind of shield of the same material, and wooden stirrups; the bits of their bridles were of wolf or bear's teeth. They inquired who the party were, and, being informed, invited them to their village.

Two days after, Lasalle crossed a river, which he called Riber, from one of the party, who was drowned in crossing it. Here he halted for six days; his men killed a buffalo, and salted and smoked the meat. Three days after he crossed another stream, which he called Hiens, after one of the party, who sank

into the mud and was drawn out with great difficulty.

Lasalle now altered his course, travelling due east. After a march of several days, he came to a tribe called the Biscatonges, where he obtained dressed buffalo skins, of which his men made mockosons, a kind of covering for the foot, much used by the Indians, and resembling a mitten or a glove without fingers. These Indians also supplied Lasalle with canoes; the two, he had brought from the fort, being already so crazy as to be of but little use.

On the following day, as the French approached a village, one of them shot a deer; this so terrified the Indians, that they all fled. Lasalle ordered his men under arms, as they entered the village. It consisted of about three hundred cabins; the wife of one of the chiefs was still in hers, being so old that she could not move. She was given to understand, she had nothing to fear. Three of her sons, who had remained at a small distance, noticing the peaceable demeanor of the strangers, called back her countrymen, who immediately returned. They offered the calumet to, and entertained, the French with much cordiality.

Unwilling to put too much confidence in these friendly appearances, Lasalle encamped at night, on the opposite side of a cane brake, that encircled the village, and surrounded himself with poles as usual. These precautions proved timely; for during the night, a party of Indians, armed with arrows, approached. The rustling of the canes warning Lasalle, he gave them to understand, without quitting his entrenchment, that if they did not retire, he would order his men to fire. The night passed without any further disturbance, and in the morning, the

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hosts and the guests parted with apparent marks of friendship.

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Eight miles further, they came to a village of the Chinonoas. These Indians dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Spaniards, who often came among and vexed them. They immediately recognised the French as being of another nation, by their language and mien; and their hate of the Spaniards, inspired them with the opposite sentiment for their present visitors, who were not long without letting their hosts know, they were at war with the Spaniards. The Indians pressed Lasalle to tarry, and accompany them on an expedition they were projecting, against their troublesome neighbours. He excused himself on the smallness of his party, who were ill provided with arms. He was supplied with provisions, and took leave.

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On the next day, Rica, the Indian servant of Lasalle, stopped suddenly, exclaiming he was a dead man; he immediately fell, and in a few minutes, swelled to an astonishing degree. He had been bitten by a rattle snake. After the scarification of the wound, and the application of such herbs, as his countrymen quickly pointed out, he was relieved. This accident detained the party during two days.

They next came to a wide river, which rendered it necessary to make a raft with canes and branches covered with hides. Lasalle, his nephew and two servants, ventured on it first. When they reached the middle of the stream, the violence of the current carried them out of the sight of their companions. After floating thus for a couple of miles, the raft rested on a large tree which had fallen into the river, almost torn out by the roots. By pulling on its branches, they found the means of reaching the opposite shore. The rest of the party remained all

the night and the following day in distressing uncertainty. They proceeded along the river, loudly calling their leader, and night came on without their being relieved; but in the morning, the calls being resumed, were soon answered by Lasalle from the opposite shore. A stronger raft was made, and the rest of the party crossed.

They now reached a village of the Ceniz, having overtaken an Indian on horseback, who was returning to it. His wife sat behind him, and other horses followed, loaded with the produce of his chase. He gave part of it to Lasalle, and preceded the party into the village, leaving his wife with them. Some of the chiefs came out to meet the French, who staid several days, and traded with their hosts for some horses. This was the largest settlement, Lasalle had come to. It extended for upwards of twenty miles, interspersed with hamlets of ten or twelve cabins. These were large, often exceeding forty feet in length. Dollars were seen among the people, and many articles of furniture, as spoons, forks, plates. &c., which manifested they traded with the Spaniards. Horses were in great plenty, and the Indians very willing to part with a serviceable one, for an axe. Lasalle saw, in one of the cabins, a printed copy of one of the Pope's Bulls, exempting Mexicans from fast during the summer. The natives made a very good map of their country on pieces of bark, and shewed they were within six days' march from the Spanish settlements.

After staying five or six days, Lasalle proceeded to the Nassonites, where he was received with much courtesy. It was perceivable that the Indians of this tribe, had much intercourse with the Spaniards; for when they saw father Athanase, they made the sign of the cross and kneeled, to give him to understand,

they were acquainted with the ceremonies of the mass. Here, four men of the party deserted, attracted, as was believed, by the charms of some of the Cenis women.

Lasalle and his nephew fell dangerously ill. Two months elapsed, before they felt themselves in a situation to travel. His ammunition now was exhausted, and he was at the distance of four hundred and fifty miles in a straight line from his fort. The party unanimously agreed to return. On their march back, one of them attempting to swim across a river was devoured by an alligator. They reached the fort, on the seventeenth of October.

There was a considerable tract of land cleared, and under cultivation. Comfortable houses had been built, and gardens were to be seen near most of them; the settlement was in a flourishing condition, and the Indians, in the immediate neighbourhood, were friendly.

After a stay of two months with the colonists, Lasalle determined on returning by the way of Canada to France, in order to solicit a reinforcement of husbandmen and mechanics. He sat off in the beginning of the new year, accompanied by his brother and nephew, father Athanase and seventeen men. He took the same route as before. There were in the party, when they left the settlement, two brothers of the name of Lancelot. The younger, being weak and infirm, was unable to keep up, and was sent back on the second day; the elder was desirous to return also; but Lasalle, thinking the party too weak, refused his consent. The young man was met near the settlement by a party of Indians, who killed him. Intelligence of this misfortune reaching the party, the surviving brother, casting the blame on Lasalle, did not conceal his resentment; but vented it in

threats. At length, it seemed to have subsided. After a march of about two months, provisions failing, this man with Liotot, the surgeon, Hiens and Duhault, were sent to kill buffaloes and salt and smoke the meat. These persons, displeased with Lasalle and his nephew, who commanded this small detachment, plotted their destruction. In the evening of the seventeenth of March, Liotot despatched Lasalle's nephew, his servant and an Indian, with an axe. His companions standing by, ready to defend him with their arms, had any resistance been made. Lasalle, missing his nephew, left the party with father Athanase, and retrograded. Meeting Lancelot, he inquired whither his nephew was; the wretch pointed to a spot, over which a number of buzzards were hovering; as Lasalle advanced, he met with another of the accomplices, to whom he put the same question; but Duhault, who lay concealed in high grass, fired; the ball lodged in Lasalle's head; he fell and survived an hour only. This was on the nineteenth of March 1687, near the western branch of Trinity River.

The murderers, joined by other malcontents, taking possession of the provisions, ammunition and every thing that belonged to the deceased, compelled the rest of the party to continue with them. In a quarrel among themselves, two of them were killed, and the rest sought an asylum among the Indians.

Lasalle's brother, father Athanase and five others continued their route towards the Illinois. A few days after, de Monte, one of them, bathing in a river, was drowned. In the latter part of July, this small party reached the country of the Arkansas. They noticed a large cross fixed in the ground, near a house built like those of the French in Canada. Here they found two of their countrymen, Couture

and Delaunay, natives of Rouen, who had come thither from the fort at the Illinois. Here the party learned that the Chevalier de Tonti, on his way to the mouth of the Mississippi, to meet Lasalle, had left six Frenchmen, at the Arkansas; four of whom had returned to the Illinois. After staying some time with Couture and Delaunay, the travellers disposed of their horses and procured canoes, in which they ascended the Mississippi, and the river of the Illinois to Fort St. Louis, which they reached on the fourth of September. The Chevalier de Tonti was absent, and Bellefontaine, his lieutenant, commanded. The travellers thought it prudent to conceal the death of Lasalle; they staid but a few days in the fort, and proceeded, by the way of Michillimackinac to Canada, and landed at Quebec, on the ninth of October, and soon after took shipping for France.

*Charlevoix.—Tonti.—Hennepin.*



## CHAPTER VI.

*The English excite the Iroquois against the Indian allies of the French.—Proposals of James II. to Louis XIV. for the neutrality of their American dominions.—Instructions to Denonville.—The English attack Iberville, in Hudson's Bay, and he repels them.—Iroquois Chiefs dejected, made prisoners and sent to the galleys at Marseilles.—Vaudreuil leads the Canadian forces against the Iroquois.—Correspondence between Denonville and the Governor of New York.—The French are attacked in a desfile.—Good conduct of their red allies and the militia.—The Iroquois are routed, one of their villages is burnt, and their plantations laid waste.—Denonville marches back to Niagara and builds a fort.—Epidemic disease.—The Iroquois ravage the plantations near Fort Frontenac.—They sue for and obtain peace.—Population of Canada.—Abdication of James II.—William and Mary.—Distress of the Colony on the Gulf of Mexico.—Alonzo de Leon scours the country.—Province of Texas.—Frontenac returns to New France. Commissioners for settling the boundaries of the French and English Colonies in North America.—Frontenac's instructions.—De Callieres.—La Cassiniere.—Projected attack of New York.—Irruption of the Iroquois.—Declaration of War between France and England.—Corlaer, Sermentel and Kaskabé.—Medal.—Famine. Vaudreuil takes possession of Acadie.—Du Palais.—The English possess themselves of Hudson's Bay.—Iberville retakes it and winters there.—Scurvy.—Iberville reduces the Fort at Pentagoet.—The English land in Acadie and distress the planters.—Iberville's success in New Foundland.—The Fort in Hudson's Bay taken by the English, and retaken by Iberville.—Peace of Ryswick.—De Callieres.*

DURING the fall of 1687, a party of the Iroquois fell on some of the Indians in alliance with the French near Michillimackinac. Father Lamber-ville, the missionary at that post, was informed that this attack had been determined on at a meeting of deputies of several tribes, the chiefs of which had been lately convened at Albany, by the governor of New York, who had assured them the Marquis de Denonville meant to wage war against them: the governor advised them to begin it themselves, by falling on the French or their allies, whenever they met them, as, not suspecting any attack, they would be found an easy prey. He promised that, whatever might be the consequences, he never would forsake his red allies.

While the government of New York was provoking its Indians to hostilities against Canada, James the second was apparently pursuing quite a different line of conduct. The Marquis received a letter from the Minister, informing him that the cabinet of St. James had proposed to the Ambassador of France, a treaty of neutrality, between the subjects of the two crowns in North America; and its offers having been accepted, one had been concluded in the preceding fall. The Marquis was accordingly directed to have the treaty published throughout the colony, and registered in the superior council, and to see it faithfully executed by the king's subjects in Canada.

By the fourteenth and fifteenth articles, it was agreed that the two sovereigns should send orders to their respective governors and other officers, to cause to be arrested and prosecuted, as pirates, the captains and crews of all vessels, sailing without a commission, and any of the subjects of either king, sailing under one from a prince or state at war with him.

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It does not appear that the English had any other view, than to lull the French into security; for they fell on Fort St. Anne, in Hudson's Bay; but Iberville, who commanded there, repelled the assailants, took one of their ships, and burnt a house which they had erected on the sea-shore.

Louis the fourteenth, with the view of increasing the crews of his galleys, and avenging the ill treatment of his subjects who fell into the hands of the Iroquois, had directed the Marquis' predecessor to send over all those Indians taken in war, to be employed on board of the galleys at Marseilles. The Marquis, under this order, had the imprudence of decoying, through various pretences, a number of Iroquois Chiefs, into Fort Frontenac, where he had them put in irons and afterwards sent over. This unfortunate step was disowned at court, but the Indians were not ordered back. The disavowal had the effect of emboldening the Iroquois, who attributed this act of justice and humanity to the king's apprehension of exciting the resentment of their nation. It attached them the more to the English.

In the summer, these Indians becoming more and more troublesome, it was deemed necessary to march against them. The Chevalier de Vaudreuil, who had been sent to command the troops, took the field. He encamped on the island of St. Helen, opposite that of Montreal, with eight hundred regulars and one thousand militia. Champigny de Norroy, the intendant, preceded the army to Fort Frontenac: the Marquis followed it. At the fort, he received a letter from the governor of New York, complaining bitterly of the French making war against the allies of his sovereign. At the same time a piece of information was received, showing that but little reliance was to be placed on the writer's apparently peacea-

ble disposition. A party of sixty white men from Albany, attended by a number of Indians, and guided by a French deserter, were surprised carrying goods and amunition to Michillimackinac. The officer commanding there, seized the goods and amunition, made the English prisoners, and sent the deserter to the Marquis, who had him shot.

The army now moved to the river *des Sables*, and marched into the country of the enemy. After having safely passed through two defiles, it was attacked by a party of about eight hundred Iroquois, who, pouring a destructive fire on its van, ran to attack its rear, while another party repeated the charge in front. This threw the army in some confusion; but the allied Indians, better used to fight in the woods, stood together, till the French rallied to them. The regulars, to whom this kind of warfare was quite novel, were not so useful in this instance as the militia. The army, now collected, dispersed the Indians. The French had only six men killed: the Iroquois forty-five killed and sixty wounded. The Marquis now marched to and encamped in one of the largest villages of the enemy, which was found quite deserted, and every house in it was burnt. After rambling for ten days, and laying waste every settlement and destroying every plantation, the Marquis, finding his regulars and militia much weakened by fatigue and disease, and his Indians impatient of returning, gave up the pursuit and returned to Niagara, where he employed his men in building a fort.

In the fall an epidemic disease ravaged the colony. Fort Chambly and Fort Frontenac were attacked in November; although the Indians were repelled in both places, they committed great ravages on the plantations of the neighbourhood, and burnt several houses.

They made proposals of peace, in 1688, the following year, on condition that their chiefs in Marseilles should be brought back. The Marquis willingly accepted these offers. The frontier settlers had been prevented, by the dread of new irruptions, from cultivating their fields. Dearth prevailed all over the colony, and the enemy was the more to be feared, that he had a powerful aid in the English at New York.

According to a census of this year, Canada had a population of eleven thousand two hundred and forty-nine persons.

James attempting to establish popery, had become obnoxious to the people; he was cruel and oppressive, and his subjects, who, half a century before, had led his father to the scaffold, offered his crown to the prince of Orange, the husband of his eldest daughter.

William landed in England, on the fourth of November, 1688. James, terrified, abdicated his crown and fled to France. The Irish for awhile supported his cause; but William and Mary were soon after recognised as sovereigns of the three kingdoms.

The people left by Lasalle in Fort St. Louis, not receiving any succour from France, and their stock of ammunition being exhausted, were unable to defend themselves against the neighbouring Indians. Disease made great havoc among them; in the meanwhile, the Viceroy of Mexico, in compliance with a standing article of his instructions, by Philip the second, enjoining the extermination of all foreigners who might penetrate into the gulf of Mexico, directed an expedition to be formed at Cohaguilla, under the orders of Don Alonzo de Leon, to scour the country and hunt out the French colonists, if any were still remaining. This officer, with a small force, arrived on the twenty-second of April, 1689, at Fort St. Louis, and on the twenty-fourth, at the entrance of the bay.

where he found the hull of the French vessel that had been wrecked. He saw no white man at either place. Having heard, on his march, that some of Lasalle's companions were still wandering about the country, or had taken refuge among the Indians, he shaped his course towards the Assinai, but found no trace of those he was in quest of. It is said that Don Alonzo was courteously received by the Assinai, and gave these Indians the appellation of *Texas* or friends. A few years after, the Spaniards sent missionaries into this part of the country, and afterwards established military posts or *presidios*, among these Indians. These missions or posts were the beginning of the Spanish settlements in the province of Texas.

The Count de Frontenac was now appointed governor-general of New France. In his instructions, which bear date of the seventh of June, 1689, it is stated that the reciprocal and repeated attacks of the French and English in Acadie and Hudson's Bay, had induced the appointment of commissioners, on the part of the two crowns, to report on their respective pretensions; but, as the facts alleged, by either party, were not admitted by the other, the conferences had been suspended, till they could be verified. In the meanwhile, the late revolution in England had put, at least for the present, an end to these negociations. The count was, therefore, instructed to aid the company trading to these places, and drive the English from the ground they had usurped. He was informed that, with regard to Acadie, the English commissioners had recognised the rights of France on the territory, as far as Pentagoet; and the attack of the forts on that river, by the people of Boston had been disavowed; and he was instructed to take, in concert with Monneval, governor of Acadie, the

measures necessary to prevent the repetition of a like outrage. It was announced that the king, informed that the English of New York continued their intrigues with the Iroquois, inducing them to wage war against his Canadian subjects and his Indian allies, whom they supplied with arms and ammunition, had determined, on carrying into execution, a plan, projected by Callieres, the governor of Montreal, for taking possession of the city and province of New York, and had directed La Cassiniere to proceed with a naval force to Acadie and follow the count's directions.

On his arrival in Acadie, with this naval commander, while the governor-general was concerting with him the plans of simultaneous attacks by the navy on the city of New York, and the land forces on Albany, the intelligence he received from Canada was such as to induce him to forego every plan of offensive operation against the English.

Fifteen hundred Iroquois made an irruption, in the island of Montreal, on the twenty-fifth of August. This overpowering force struck every one on the island with consternation: no resistance was made. The Indians laid the plantations waste, burnt the house and massacred the male inhabitants that fell into their hands. The females were made prisoners; but even all their lives were not spared. The bellies of pregnant women were ripped open, and the fruit torn out of the womb. Small children were put on the spit, and the mother compelled to turn it. Two hundred persons were killed, in the small settlement of La Chine, the first they attacked. As they advanced towards the town of Montreal, destruction, fire and smoke marked their way. They made themselves masters of the fort, notwithstanding the vigorous and resolute resistance of Robeyre, who com-

manded there. Thus they were in possession of the whole island; they kept it till October.

On the arrival of the Count de Frontenac at Quebec, the Iroquois retreated for awhile, in order to provide the means of returning soon, in a situation to pursue their irruptions as far as the capital, where they intended to co-operate with an English fleet, which they expected to meet before it. They boasted that before the spring, there should not be one Frenchman alive in Canada.

In the meanwhile, war had been declared in France against England, on the twenty-fifth of June. The winter was spent in Canada, in making arrangements for the campaign of the following year. The chiefs lost not, in their attention to the measures which the defence of the colony demanded, the view of the offensive ones, recommended by the king against New York and Albany—considering the reduction of the English colony, as the only mean of protecting that committed to their care: but the spring vessels brought the king's orders to abandon the projected attack on the city of New York by sea, the immense armaments, which circumstances required in Europe, disabling the minister of the navy from sparing any ships for that purpose.

Three large detachments of the army advanced in the spring on the northern frontier of New York, and had considerable success. They took Corlaer, Sermantel and Kaskebe.

Afterwards, a party of the Iroquois came to the mouth of the river Sorel, and carried off a number of lads, who were pasturing cattle. The Iroquois were pursued and the lads brought back, except one, whom they had killed, because he could not keep up with them.

Another party, who came to the island of Orleans,



was attacked by a farmer, of the name of Columbet, who collected twenty-five of his neighbours. He was killed, with a few of his followers; but the Iroquois were repelled and left twenty-five of their men on the field of battle.

A third made about thirty prisoners, men, women and children: they were followed, but the pursuit proved a fatal one to them, as the Indians, unable to escape with their captives, massacred them all.

The French had no naval force in North America. The English colonies supplied the mother country with one; and Sir William Phipps, sailing from Boston with a small fleet, on the twenty-second of May, took Port Royal, in Acadie, and soon after the other ports of that colony. Thence he proceeded to the island of New Foundland, where he pillaged the port of Plaisance.

On the sixteenth of June, his fleet, now consisting of thirty-four sail, cast anchor below Quebec, and he summoned the Count de Frontenac to surrender. On receiving a resolute answer, Sir William approached the city, and the fort began a fierce cannonade: the flag-staff of his ship was broken by a shot, and a Canadian boldly committed himself to the waves to take it: he succeeded, notwithstanding the brisk fire of the musketry, and the flag was triumphantly carried to the cathedral, where it was deposited as a trophy. On the eighteenth, fifteen hundred men landed, and were repulsed with the loss of three hundred. On the next day, the shipping drew near and cannonaded the lower town; but the fire from the castle soon compelled them to retire in some confusion. On the twentieth, a larger body was landed than before, at some distance below the city: they boldly advanced towards it; but the count sallied forth, with all his force, and repulsed them. They retreated to the

place of their landing, where the vicinity of the shipping prevented him from following them. During the night, five pieces of artillery were landed, and in the morning the enemy advanced with these; but the count coming out, with a larger force than the preceding day, the English retreated at first in tolerably good order; but the galling fire of the French on the rear, and of their Indians on the land side, soon threw them in great confusion: those who reached the boats, embarking and pushing off in much haste, left their companions and cannon behind; many of those were killed and the rest taken.

The fleet now weighed anchor and drifted down. They stopped out of the reach of the guns of the French, till an exchange of prisoners was made—Sir William having several on board of his fleet, taken in Acadie, New Foundland, and along the St. Lawrence as he ascended it.

He had expected that while he was attacking Quebec, a number of Iroquois, swelled and directed by some of his countrymen from Albany, would enter the island of Montreal and fall on the town: thus creating a necessity for the division of the forces of the colony, which would ensure the fall of Quebec, and finally enable him to make himself master of the whole province. But the English did not find among the Iroquois all the warriors they expected to join. The garrison of the upper fort had been reinforced and well supplied with arms and ammunition, and an attack being expected above, rather than below, the militia were able to disperse the parties of the Iroquois, who approached.

Louis the fourteenth caused a medal to be struck in commemoration of this negative victory; which is believed to be the first event, in the history of America, of which there is a numismatic record. The inscription on the medal is, *Francia in novo orbe victrix.*

In the fall, the scarcity of provisions was extreme. The alarm, in which the country had been in the spring and the beginning of the summer, had drawn most of the people from their farms during seed time; and although a small fleet of merchant vessels, which entered the river while the English were attacking Quebec, found a shelter, till after their departure, up the Saguenay, the supply they brought in afforded but a temporary relief and was soon exhausted. The famine was most severely felt in the capital: the troops were sent in small detachments in every parish, and the men scattered among such farmers, as could best afford them subsistence. They were all very cheerfully received.

The Iroquois came down in great numbers the following spring. A body of upwards of one thousand encamped near the island of Montreal: a detachment of one hundred and twenty was sent northerly, and one of two hundred southerly. The first fell on the settlements of the *Pointe aux trembles*, where they burnt upwards of thirty houses and made several prisoners, whom they treated with extreme cruelty. The other, among whom were about twenty Englis<sup>h</sup> men, went towards Chambly, where they laid all the plantations waste, capturing men, women and children. Several other parties went in various directions: all carrying desolation before them. The colonists could not keep any large force together, owing to the improbability of finding subsistence. Small bodies, however, kept the field, and scoured the country with so much success, that the foe was compelled to retreat.

A victualling convoy, which arrived during the summer, enabled the Canadians to wait for the season of reaping.

The Chevalier de Villebon, appointed governor of Acadie, arrived at Port Royal in November: find-

ing no English force there, he called the inhabitants together, and, hoisting the white flag, took quiet and formal possession of the country.

Canada was greatly disturbed in the following year by the Iroquois: the French had several skirmishes with large parties of these Indians; but no decisive action took place.

In the latter part, a French fleet under the orders of Du Palais, came on the Canadian sea. The English attacked Plaisance, in the island of New Foundland without success: and the government of Massachusetts was equally unfortunate in an attempt against Villebon in Acadie.

In 1693, king William determined to indulge the people of New England and New York, with a second effort to reduce Quebec—the frontier settlements of these provinces being incessantly harrassed by irruptions of the Indians allied with France, often directed by the white people; but an attack on Martinique was the previous object of the naval and land forces destined against Canada. A contagious fever broke out in the fleet, while it was in the West Indies, and by the time the ships reached North America, had swept away upwards of three thousand soldiers and sailors. This disaster prevented any hostility against Canada or Acadie. Fort St. Anne, in the bay of Hudson, was taken by the English.

Iberville was in the following year, sent thither with two ships, and a small land force. The English had a garrison of fifty men only, in Fort Nelson. There was no military officer commanding there; but, they were under the orders of a factor of the company; he made no resistance. On its being reduced, its name was changed to Fort Bourbon; Iberville wintered there. The scurvy made a great havoc among his people. In the summer he left the

command to Lasaut, to whom he gave Marigny, as his lieutenant, with a garrison of sixty Canadians and some Indians. He brought away a very considerable quantity of furs and peltries, collected from the natives.

In Canada, the Count de Frontenac, contrary to the representations of the Intendant, the advice of his military officers, and the directions of the Minister, took upon himself to rebuild the fort at Catarocoui. He went up, with seven hundred men for this purpose. It was in vain objected to him, that this force, and the funds that were thus to be employed, might be more usefully used in an offensive expedition against the Iroquois, who continued to annoy the distant settlements. He left in it a garrison of fifty-eight men.

In the fall, the Count and the Intendant recommended to the Minister, to send ten or twelve ships of the line against an English fleet that was expected in the Canadian sea, and to attempt the reduction of Boston. They represented that town as carrying on a considerable trade, and assured him its falling into the hands of the French would ensure the fisheries exclusively to them. The king's council, however, determined on confining the operations of the next campaign in America, to driving the English from the places they occupied in New Foundland, and the fort of Penkuit, from which they continued to harrass the settlements in Acadie, and which, being in the immediate neighbourhood of the Abenauis, gave the people of New England, a great opportunity of subduing these Indians, or at least of seducing them from their alliance with, and dependence on the French crown.

Accordingly, in the next summer, Iberville arrived with two ships, on the coast of Acadie, and on the

third of July, met with three ships of war of the enemy; one of which, the Newport of sixty guns, he captured: a heavy fog, that rose during the engagement, favoured the escape of the other two. Having taken fifty Indians on board at Beaubassin, he proceeded to Pentagoet, where the Baron of St. Castin, had marched with twenty-five soldiers and two hundred and fifty Indians. On the fifteenth, the Baron, having raised two batteries, sent a summons to the Commandant, representing the land and naval forces, ready to co-operate against him, as too large to admit of a successful resistance. The Englishman replied, that if the sea was covered with French ships, and the country around with French soldiers, he would not think of surrendering the fort, as long as he had a gun to fire. On this, a cannonade began, from the batteries and shipping. Iberville landed during the night and erected a bomb battery. On the next day, fire bombs, thrown into the fort, appeared to create confusion: the Baron now sent word that, if the besieged waited for the assault, they would have his Indians to deal with, whom it might possibly be out of his power to control. This threat had its effect, and the fort capitulated.

Iberville, after this, sailed for New Foundland. An English fleet still hovered on the coast of Acadie: its commander, having landed four or five hundred men at Beaubassin, was shown by the inhabitants an instrument of writing, left with them by Sir William Phipps, declaring that, as they had submitted to the forces of William and Mary, he had taken them under his sovereign's protection. They were answered, they should in no manner be injured. Orders were accordingly given to the soldiers, who were prohibited from taking any thing, except such cattle as might be needed for the fleet; for which.

payment was promised. The commodore walked with the inhabitants, who had waited on him, to the house of one Bourgeois, where he and his officers were entertained, and where the most respectable inhabitants came to visit him. The soldiers, however, went about pillaging, and treating the Acadians as a conquered people, and when complaints were made to the chief, he did not restrain them. Walking out accidentally, towards the church, he noticed a paper stuck on the door, subscribed by Count de Frontenac. It contained regulations, respecting the traffic with the Indians. Pretending to be much irritated at this discovery, he charged the inhabitants with a breach of their sworn neutrality, ordered the church to be set on fire, and authorised his soldiers to continue the pillage. The plantations were laid waste, and most of the houses burnt. The forces being re-embarked, the fleet went to the river St. John, where an unsuccessful attack was made on the fort.

In the meanwhile, Iberville went to New Foundland, where he had considerable success, and took the Fort of St. John. He was preparing to drive the English from the two only places which they held in that island, when he received orders to sail for the bay of Hudson, with four ships which arrived from France. The English had captured Fort Bourbon, in that bay. He lost one of his ships in the ice, and a storm separated two of the others from him. The ship he was in was drove ashore in another gale: but the two who had disappeared, joining the one he had left, he gave battle to some English ships, which he found in the bay. He sunk one of them and took another; the third escaped—and towards the middle of September he re-captured Fort Bourbon.

The peace of Riswick, in the meanwhile, put an

end to hostilities. On the twentieth of September, Louis the fourteenth acknowledged William the third, king of England, and the two monarchs agreed mutually to restore to each other, all conquests made during the war, and to appoint commissioners to examine and determine the rights and pretensions of each to the places situated in Hudson's Bay.

In the following year, Count de Frontenac died, and was succeeded, in the government-general of New France, by the Chevalier de Callieres.

At this period, the population of New France did not exceed sixteen thousand; that of Canada being thirteen, and that of Acadie three thousand.

We have seen that, before the accession of the Bourbons and the Stuarts, in the early part of the seventeenth century, all the efforts of France and England, towards colonization in the western hemisphere had proved abortive. The progress of these nations, under the princes of those houses, were simultaneous, but unequal, both in the means employed and the result. Vast were those of France: exiguous those of England. Yet the population of the colonies of the latter, was sixteen times that of those of the former: it exceeded two hundred and sixty thousand.

Judge Marshal has shown, in his history of the colonies planted by the English in North America, how immense and rapid are the advances of a community, allowed to manage its own concerns, unaided, and even checked at times, by a distant administration. *Sequar, sed haud passibus equis.* Mine shall be the humble task to show how small and tardy are those advances in a colony, absolutely guided by the mother country, notwithstanding the great assistance the latter may afford to the former.

About three-fourths of a century, after Henry the



fourth laid the foundation of Quebec, William Penn, an individual of the English nation, cut down the first tree, on the spot which Philadelphia now covers, and in about twelve years after, the quaker, by his unaided exertions, had collected twenty thousand persons around his city: one-fourth more than the efforts of three successive monarchs of France, commanding the resources of that mighty kingdom, and employing several ships of the royal navy in the transportation of soldiers and colonists, had been able to unite in New France.

*Charlevoix.*

## CHAPTER VII.

*Iberville's offers to plant a French colony in Louisiana are accepted.—An expedition is prepared, sails from La Rochelle, and touches at Hispaniola.—Andres de la Riolle.—Pensacola.—Massacre, Horn, Ship, Chandeleur and Cat Islands.—A settlement begun on Ship Island.—Bay of Pascagoula.—Biloxi and Bayagoula Indians.—Iberville and Bienville enter and ascend the Mississippi.—Fork of Chetimachas.—Washas.—Plaquemines.—Bayou Manchac.—Oumas.—Point Coupée.—Portage de la Croix.—Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain.—Bay of St. Louis.—A fort built on the Bay of Biloxi.—Iberville leaves Sauvolle in command and sails for France.—Scotch colony at Darien.—Sauvolle sends a small vessel to Hispaniola for provisions.—Colapissas.—Chickasaws.—Missionaries among the Yazoo and Tunicas.—Mobile and Thome Indians visit Sauvolle.—English Turn.—French Protestants.—Return of Iberville.—Boisbriant.—St. Denys.—Malton.—A fort built on the Mississippi.—The Chevalier de Tonti.—The Natchez and Taensas.—St. Come.—Rosalie.—Yatassees.—Protest of the Governor of Pensacola.—Washitas.—Red River.—Iberville sails for France.—Philip V.—War of the Spanish succession.—St. Peter and Green Rivers.—Fort Thuillier.—Sagan. Sauvolle dies.—Choctaws, Chickasaws and Alibamons.—Return of Iberville.—Head Quarters removed to Mobile.—Dauphine Island.—Iberville departs for France.—Queen Anne.—Declaration of War.—Irruption from Canada into Massachusetts and New Hampshire.—Attack of St. Augustine.—Wabash.—Apalachian Indians.—Bienville chastises the Alibamons.—Recruits.—Grey Sisters.—Fire at Biloxi.—Disease.—*

*Destruction of the French settlement on the Wabash.—Chickasaws and Choctaws.—Cherokees.—Illinois.—Father Gratiot.—Bayagoulas.—Hurons.—Arkansas.—Iberville's death.—Tunicas.—Tausus.—Attack on Pensacola.—Touachas.—Abikas.—Alibamons.—Another attack on Pensacola.—Irruption from Canada into Massachusetts.—General Nicholson.—De Mays and Diron D'Artaguctte.—The English take Port Royal in Acadie.—The settlement on Mobile River removed higher up.—The Chickasaws attack the Choctaws.—Failure of the English in an attempt against Quebec and Mon'real.—La Ville-Voisin.—Anthony Crozat.—Peace of Utrecht.*

LOUIS the fourteenth seemed to have lost sight of Louisiana, in the prosecution of the war, which the treaty of Riswick terminated. We have seen that Lasalle had lost his life, in the attempt to plant a French colony on the Mississippi.

Iberville, on his return from Hudson's Bay, flattering himself with the hope of better success, offered to prosecute Lasalle's plan, and was patronised by the Count de Pontchartrain, the Minister of the marine, who ordered an expedition to be prepared at La Rochelle.

Two frigates of thirty guns each, and two smaller vessels were employed in this service. The command of one of the frigates and of the armament was given to Iberville, and that of the other to the Count de Sugeres. A company of marines and about two hundred settlers, including a few women and children embarked. Most of the men were Canadians, who had enlisted in the troops sent over from France during the war, and were disbanded at the peace.

This small fleet sailed on the twenty fourth of September, 1698, for Cape Francois, in the island of St.

Domingo, where it arrived after a passage of seventy-two days. Here it was joined by a fifty gun ship, commanded by Chateaumorant. Leaving the cape on New-Year's day, the ships cast anchor on the twenty-fifth of January, before the island, which now bears the name of St. Rose.

Iberville sent a boat to the main, where Don Andres de la Riolle had a short time before led three hundred Spaniards, on the spot on which, in the time of Soto, lay the Indian town of Anchusi, and now stands the town of Pensacola. Two ships of his nation were at anchor under the protection of a battery that had just been erected.

Don Andres received the officer in the boat with civility; but as his naval force was much inferior to that of the French, declined permitting Iberville to bring in his ships. They proceeded northerly to another island, not very distant, to which from a heap of human bones, near the beach, the name of Massacre Island was given. It is now known as Dauphine Island.

Sailing afterwards farther on, they entered a pass between two islands, which received the names of Horn and Ship Islands; but being stopped by the shallowness of the water, they came out, and shaping their course southwesterly, reached two other islands, now known as those of the Chandeleur, either from the circumstance of their having been first approached on the second of February, Candlemas day, or from their being covered with the myrtle shrub, from the wax of the berries of which the first colonists made their candles. The anchor was cast here, and the pass between Ship Island, and another called Cat Island, (from a number of these animals found on it) was sounded, and the smaller vessels entered through it. The fifty gun ship now returned to St. Domingo;

and the two frigates remained before one of the Chandeleur islands.

Iberville went with most of his people to Ship island, where they began to erect huts. He sent two boats to the main. They entered the bay of Pascagoula, where they discovered a number of Indians, who fled at their approach and were pursued in vain. On the next day a boat was again sent on shore. On the landing of the French, the natives ran away as before; but a woman, lagging behind, was caught, and was so much pleased at the behaviour of the strangers, that she went and induced her countrymen to meet them. Four of these Indians were persuaded to go on board; Bienville, a brother of Iberville, who commanded the boat, remaining in the meanwhile, as an hostage, with the rest. After spending some time in the vessel, they returned, much gratified with their courteous reception, and a few presents that were made them. For want of an interpreter, no other information could be obtained from them, except that they were of the Biloxi tribe.

On the following day, another party of Indians passed by. The same circumstance prevented any knowledge being obtained from them, except that they were Bayagoulas, that their tribe dwelt on the bank of a very large river, a little to the west, and that they were out on a war expedition against the Mobilians, who dwelt on a smaller stream, not far to the east.

On the twenty-seventh of February, Iberville and Bienville, each in a barge well manned, went in quest of the Mississippi. They were attended by father Athanase, a recollet monk, who had accompanied the unfortunate Lasalle, both in his descent of that river, and on his last voyage from France. The third day, they entered a wide stream, which, from

the turbidness of its waters, the friar justly concluded was the mighty river.

Having ascended it, according to their reckoning about one hundred and twenty miles, on the fifth day after they entered it, they discovered a party of Indians, who, on perceiving the barges, sought their safety in flight. One of them, however, soon turned, and fearlessly awaited the approach of the strangers. His good will having been secured by a present, he went and brought back his companions. It was understood from them, that they were of the Bayagoula tribe. One of them was easily prevailed upon to get into Iberville's barge and accompany the French.

A few days after, the French overtook at the fork of the Chetimachas, a party of the Warshas, and two days after, reached a village of the Bayagoulas.

Here they were shown some capots, or great coats, made of blankets, left there by some of Lasalle's companions. They were treated with great hospitality. The Indians supplied their guests with a few fowls, giving them to understand they proceeded from others, which they had received from a tribe of Indians (the Attakapas) dwelling northerly, near the sea; a vessel having been cast ashore there, from which a few of these animals came out.

Iberville was still apprehensive that father Athanase was mistaken, and the river he was on was not the Mississippi, until the natives produced a prayer book, in which the name of one of Lasalle's men was written, and at last, a letter from the Chevalier de Tonti, bearing date from the village of the Quinipissas, the twentieth of April, 1685. The chevalier lamented his being obliged to return, without having met his chief, whose departure from France with the intention of settling a French colony on the banks of the Mississippi, he had learned from Canada. He

observed he had descended the stream, as far as the sea, with twenty Canadians and thirty Indians. Iberville was also shown a coat of mail, with double meshes of wire. From the accounts the Indians gave of the length of time this piece of armour had been among them, Iberville guessed it to have belonged to one of the Spaniards who accompanied Soto.

Having left another fork of the Mississippi, (now known as the Bayou Plaquemines) on the left hand, they soon came to another outlet of the river, on its opposite side, which separated the land of the Bayagoulas, from that of the Oumas. It is now called Bayou Manchac.

Several days afterwards, they came to a place where the river made a considerable bend. Iberville, perceiving a large outlet, caused a number of trees that obstructed it to be cut down, and the barges were drawn through. The Mississippi afterwards so widened the outlet, that in time, the former bed of the river being much obstructed by trees, the stream altered its course, and the outlet became its bed. The place was hence called Point Coupée.

They afterwards came to another considerable bend thro' which the natives made a portage, and had cut a road—the isthmus was but a few yards in width; the French gave it the name of the Portage de la Croix, from the circumstance of their having erected there a cross, in token of having proceeded so far up the river, and of having taken possession of it. It is believed that this is the great bend of the Mississippi opposite the mouth of Red River. The Oumas Indians had a considerable village near this spot. The French repaired to it and were hospitably received.

Iberville now retrograded, and the barges having floated back as far as Bayou Manchac, Bienville

proceeded down the river to the sea, and Iberville entered the small stream and proceeded, through two lakes, to which he gave the names of Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to a bay which he called St. Louis, and reached his shipping. Bienville arrived shortly afterwards.

It was now determined to fix the principal establishment of the colony at the eastern extremity of a bay, which, from the Indians dwelling near it, was called the bay of Biloxi; it lies between the bay of Penagounda and that of St. Louis. A fort with four bastions, was immediately begun, and completed on the first of May. Twelve pieces of cannon were placed in it, and the command given to Sauvolle, a brother of Iberville; and Bienville, their younger brother, was appointed his lieutenant. The colonists settled around it, and Iberville and the Count de Sugerés sailed for France in the frigates, on the ninth, leaving the two small vessels for the service of the colony.

In the mean while, the Scotch had made an unsuccessful attempt to plant a colony, near the isthmus of Panama. King William had given his assent to an act of the parliament of Scotland, incorporating a company to carry on trade in Africa and the Indies; and the association equipped three ships and two tenders, on which were embarked one thousand colonists.

This fleet cast anchor near Cape Tiberon, in latitude 8. 40. N. on the second of November of the preceding year; the Indians received the adventurers with cordiality, and led their ships to a bay within Golden Island, about five miles wide and very deep. The Scotch, having sounded along the shore, found a lagoon on the south east side of the bay, running up within the land for about two miles and a half, and selected a spot, which nature had rendered easily de-



feasible for the chief place of the colony. They called it New Edinburgh, and the harbor before it, Caledonia harbor. They erected a platform, on which they placed sixteen guns, and dignified it with the name of Fort St. Andrews.

The Indians continued friendly; the colony was visited by small vessels from Jamaica and St. Domingo. It was several times harrassed by irruptions of Spaniards from the neighbouring colonies, whom they always successfully repelled. In the spring, however, the cabinet of Madrid made loud complaints of this invasion of the territory of Spain, and William, being averse to a rupture with that nation, immediately after the conclusion of the war, disowned the Scotch colony, and the governors of Jamaica, Barbadoes, New York and Massachusetts issued proclamations, commanding the king's subjects, in their respective governments, to forbear holding any correspondence with, or giving any aid to the Scotch colony. William was deaf to the representations of the company, and the colonists, unable to repel the Spaniards, and to sustain themselves without aid from home, dispersed soon after.

Sauvolle, after the departure of the two frigates, despatched one of his two vessels to St. Domingo for provisions. Nothing now appeared to him of greater importance than to secure a good understanding with the Indian tribes near the fort. For this purpose, in the beginning of June, he sent his young brother with a few Canadians, and a Bayagoula chief as a guide, towards the Colapissas, who dwelt on the northern bank of lake Pontchartrain. This tribe had three hundred warriors. On seeing Bienville approach, the Colapissas ranged themselves in battle array. He stopped and sent his guide to inquire into the cause of this hostile appearance. The Colapissas

replied, that three days before, two white men, whom they took to be English from Carolina, came at the head of two hundred Chichasaws, attacked their village and carried away some of their people into captivity, and they had at first considered Bienville and his white companions as Englishmen. The Bayagoula chief undeceived them, and told them, that those who came to visit them were French, and enemies of the English—that their object, in coming to the village, was to solicit the friendship and alliance of its inhabitants. The Colapissas laid down their arms and received and entertained the French with great cordiality. Bienville made them a few presents, and exchanged with them promises of reciprocal friendship, alliance and support.

On his return to the fort, he spent there but a few days, and sat off easterly on a like errand; he ascended the Pascagoula river, on the banks of which the nation who gave it its name, the Biloxis and the Moe-tobies had villages—and he proceeded as far as the Mobilians. Having been as successful with these tribes as with the Colapissas, and equally anxious to live on good terms with his white as his red neighbours, he paid a visit to Don Andres at Pensacola.

Ever since the discovery of the Mississippi by La-salle, Canadian huntsmen, or *coureurs de bois*, strayed at times to the banks of that river, and missionaries from that colony had been led by their zeal to locate themselves among the Indians on the Wabash, the Illinois and other streams that pay the tribute of their waters to the Mississippi, and of late among several tribes on the very banks of that river; and on the first of July, Sauvolle had the pleasure, which he little expected, of receiving the visits of two of these missionaries, who resided with the Tensas and Yazou Indians.

The holy men, coming to preach among the Oumas, had heard of a French settlement on the sea shore; they floated down the Mississippi to visit it, and reached the fort through the lakes. Their names were Montigny and Davion; the latter resided on an eminence, on the east side of the Mississippi, between the present towns of St Francisville and Natchez, which the French called after him *La Roche a Davion*. While the English held this part of the country, the spot was called Loftus' heights. From a fort, built under the presidency of John Adams, it bears now the name of Fort Adams. These clergymen spent a few days with their countrymen, and returned to their respective missions.

Parties from the Mobile and Thome Indians visited their French neighbours in the month of August, and the vessel despatched to St. Domingo on the departure of Iberville, returned with an ample supply of provisions, which began to be much needed.

Iberville, on ascending the Mississippi, had noticed three outlets; one on the eastern side, and two on the western, now called the fork of the Chetimachas, and Bayou Plaquemines. He had descended through the first, and had instructed Sauvolle to have the two others explored. Perfect tranquillity reigning in the settlement, Bienville was sent, with ten Canadians in two pirogues, on this service.

They crossed lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas, and ascending through Bayou Manchac, reached the Mississippi and floated down to the fork. Taking always the western prong, whenever the stream forked, Bienville fell into a bayou in which the water failed; visiting several villages of Indians on the way, he returned to the Mississippi, which he descended, and on the sixteenth of September, met an English ship of sixteen guns. Captain Bar, who commanded

her, informed Bienville he had left below another ship of his nation of the same force; these ships were sent by Daniel Coxe of New Jersey, who then was the proprietor of the immense grant of land from Charles I. of England to Sir Robert Heath, in 1627. The object of captain Bar and his companion was, to sound the passes of the Mississippi. They were afterwards to return and convoy four smaller vessels, bringing several families, intended as the beginning of an English colony, on the banks of the river. Capt. Bar was uncertain whether the stream he was exploring was the Mississippi or not.

Bienville told him it was further west, that the country they were in was a dependence of the French colony of Canada, and the French had a strong fort and some settlements higher up, which induced Bar to retrograde. The part of the river, in which Bienville met him, was the beginning of a large bend, where the ship was detained; the wind which brought her up ceasing, from the very great turn of the river, to be favorable. From this circumstance, the place was called the English Turn; an appellation which it still retains.

While Bienville was on board, a French engineer, named Secon, handed him a memorial to be forwarded to the court of France. It stated, that the memorialist, and four hundred protestant families who had emigrated from France to Carolina, in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, in 1684, were anxious to come and live under the French government in Louisiana, provided liberty of conscience was promised them. This paper was accordingly forwarded; but the Count de Pontchartrain answered, that his sovereign had not driven these protestants from his kingdom to make a republic of them in America. Religious intolerance had greatly thinned the population

of France, and was now to check that of her colonies. Its dire evils were not confined to Catholic countries nor to the old world—they have been felt even in “the land of the free.” About sixty years before, the general court of Massachusetts excluded from the enjoyment of political rights, those who had not been received into the church as members; and even at this day, the constitution of North Carolina withholds some of them from those who deny the truth of the protestant religion.

Bienville, after the departure of the English ships, descended the river to the sea, and sounded its western pass; he found eleven feet of water on its bar.

Returning, he reached the village of the Bayagoulas on the first of October. These Indians were in the greatest consternation; having been lately surprised by the Oumas, who made several of their people prisoners. The war that had broke out between these two tribes was occasioned by a dispute about their limits. Bienville, on leaving them, promised to the Bayagoulas, that he would soon return with some of his men, and compel the Oumas to make peace with them.

On his way down, he was guided to a portage or crossing place; his pirogues were carried over to bayou Tigouyou, through which he reached lake Pontchartrain, and in four days arrived at the fort of Biloxi.

Several guns fired at sea, attracted the attention of the colonists on the seventh of December. Sauvolle sent out a light boat, which soon came back with the pleasing intelligence of the approach of a French fleet.

It consisted of a fifty and a forty gun ship, commanded by Iberville and the Count de Sugeres; Sauvolle had been appointed governor, Bienville

Lieutenant governor of Louisiana; and Boisbriant major of the fort. This officer, with two others, St. Denys and Maton, came in the ships, with sixty Canadians; they were accompanied by Lesueur, a geologist, who was sent to examine a greenish earth or ochre, which some of the men, who had accompanied Dacan up the Mississippi, had noticed on its banks.

Iberville, finding from Bienville's report, that the English meditated an establishment on the Mississippi, determined on effecting one immediately. He departed for that purpose in the smallest vessel, with fifty Canadians, on the seventeenth of January, having sent Bienville by the lakes to the Bayagoulas to procure guides to some spot in the lower part of the river, secure from the inundation. They led him to an elevated one, at the distance of fifty-four miles from the sea; where Iberville met them soon after, and the building of a fort was immediately begun.

Towards the middle of February, they were met by the Chevalier de Tonti from the Illinois with seven men; he had left others, who had accompanied him, at the Bayagoulas. The object of his journey was, to ascertain the truth of a report which had reached him, of the establishment of a French colony.

Three days after, Iberville and Bienville sat off with the chevalier and a small party for the upper part of the Mississippi. They stopped at the Bayagoulas, with whom they remained till the first of March, and proceeded to the Oumas, with the view of inducing or compelling them to release the prisoners they had taken from the Bayagoulas. On approaching the village of the Oumas, Iberville went forward with a few Bayagoula chiefs; as he approached their village, the Oumas met and received him with much respect. He was successful in his endea-

vours ; peace was made between the two tribes, and the Bayagoula prisoners were liberated.

From the Oumas, the French proceeded to the Natchez ; this nation had been lately reduced by wars to twelve hundred warriors. A missionary, named St. Come, had arrived some time before from Canada, and fixed his residence among them, The king, or Great Sun of the nation, on hearing of the approach of the French, came forward on the shoulders of some of his people, attended by a large retinue, and welcomed Iberville ; those Indians appeared much more civilized than the others. They preserved in a temple a perpetual fire, kept up by a priest, and offered to it the first fruits of the chase.

The Tensas, a neighbouring nation, were in alliance with the Natchez, and much resembled them in their manners and religion.

While Iberville remained there, one of the temples was struck and set on fire by lightning. The keeper of the fane solicited the squaws to throw their little ones into the fire, to appease the divinity ; four infants were thus sacrificed, before the French could prevail on the women to desist.

On the twenty-second of March, Iberville returned to the fort near the mouth of the Mississippi, and from thence to that at the Biloxi. He was much pleased with the country of the Natchez, and considered it as the most suitable part of the province, for its principal establishment : he selected a high spot, which he laid out for a town, and called it Rosalie, in honor of the countess of Pontchartrain, who had received that name at the baptismal fount.

On the day that Iberville left the Natchez, Bienville and St. Denys, attended by a few Canadians and a number of Indians, sat off for the country of the Yatassees, in the western part of Louisiana.

Iberville, on his arrival at the fort of Biloxi, was informed that the governor of Pensacola had come to Ship Island with a thirty gun ship, and one hundred and forty men, with the view of driving the French away. He found there a superior force, and contented himself with a solemn protest against what he called the usurpation of a country which he considered as part of the government of Mexico. He furnished the Count de Sugeres with a copy of this instrument, which the latter, sailing for France a few days afterwards, carried thither.

Lesueur, with a detachment of twenty men, set off for the country of the Sioux, in the latter part of April.

In the mean while, Bienville and St. Denys returned to Biloxi; they had found the country thro' which they intended to pass, entirely covered with water, and had proceeded to the village of the Washitas, in which they found but five huts; the Indians having mostly removed to the Natchitoches. They crossed Red river, and met six of the latter Indians who were carrying salt to the Coroas, a tribe who dwelt in the vicinity of the Yazou river. On the seventh of April they reached the village of the Outchiouis, in which were about fifty warriors; here they were supplied with provisions, and one of the Indians accompanied them as a guide to the Yatassees, whose village was very large, as they had two hundred warriors. The information the travellers obtained of the country to the west was imperfect. They did not hear of any Spanish settlement in the vicinity.

On their way down the Mississippi, they stopped at the Bayagoulas, whose village was almost entirely destroyed by the Mongoulachas, a tribe who dwelt near them.

Iberville returned to France, towards the last of



May. He left Bienville in command, in the fort on the Mississippi, and sent St. Denys with twelve Canadians and a number of Indians to prosecute the discoveries he had begun on Red river.

Although the French had now been upwards of two years in Louisiana, they do not appear to have resorted to the culture of the earth for subsistence; they depended entirely on supplies from France or St. Domingo. Fishing and hunting afforded the colony fresh meat, and the people carried on a small trade with the Indian tribes on the sea coast. Government, instead of concentrating the population, seemed more intent on making new discoveries where other settlements might be made, and to seek in the bowels of the earth for metals and ochres. The attention of the colonial officers had been directed to a search for pearls. The wool of buffaloes was pointed out to them as the future staple commodity of the country, and they were directed to have a number of these animals penned and tamed. Nay, thoughts were entertained of shipping some of the young to France, in order to propagate the species there.

Charles the second, the fifth and last monarch of Spain of the house of Austria, died on the tenth of November 1700, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and without issue. His will called to the throne, he was leaving, Philip, Duke of Anjou, a grandson of Louis the fourteenth. Although the new king was received with acclamations in Madrid, his elevation was powerfully opposed by the Archduke Charles, who was supported by his father, and by England, Holland, Savoy, Prussia and Portugal. Thus, the flames of war began to rage in Europe, in that contest, which is called the war of the Spanish succession.

St. Denys returned in the fall, after a very tiresome journey of upwards of six months, without any mate-

rial information respecting the Indians in the upper part of Red river.

Lesueur had ascended the Mississippi, as high as the falls, to which Dacan and Hennepin had given the name of St. Anthony, proceeded up St. Peters' river upwards of one hundred and twenty miles, and entered a stream, which he called Green river, from the hue imparted to its water, by a greenish ochre, which covered the land around a copper mine, and was intermixed with the ore on the surface. The ice prevented his advance more than three miles, although it was now the latter part of September. He employed his detachment in building a small fort, in which they wintered. It was called Fort Thuillier, in compliment to a farmer-general of that name, one of Lesueur patrons. In the spring, the party proceeded to the mine, at the foot of a mountain, which the Indians said was thirty miles in length. It was very near the bank of the river: thirteen thousand weight of a mixture of ochre and ore were gathered, brought to Biloxi, and shipped to France. From the circumstance of the mine having been abandoned, it is concluded that no value was attached to the shipment. Lesueur had left the greatest part of his men in the fort, to keep possession of the country.

A frigate arrived from France on the thirtieth of May, under the orders of Delaronde. Government, always under the impression that wealth was to be sought in the bowels of the earth, in Louisiana, rather than gathered from its surface, by the dull and steady process of tillage, and listening with unabated credulity to the tales of every impostor, who came from America, a Canadian, of the name of Mathew Sagan, who had furnished the Count de Pontchartrain with feigned memoirs, in which he pretended to have ascended the Missouri and discovered mines of

gold, arrived in this vessel. The minister, yielding to the illusion which Sagan's memoirs produced, had ordered his services to be secured at a great expense, and instructed Sauvolle to have twenty-four pirogues built and one hundred Canadians placed with them, under the orders of this man, to enable him to proceed to the Missouri and work the mines. He was well known to most of the Canadians in Louisiana, who were conscious he never had been on the Missouri. Sauvolle, informed of the character of the man, did not hurry the intended expedition, although, in obedience to his instructions, he gave orders for the building of the pirogues. The frigate staid but a few days in Louisiana.

Sauvolle dying, on the twenty-second of July, Bienville succeeded him, in the chief command and removed from the Mississippi to Biloxi. Parties of the Choctaws and Mobile Indians came a few days after his arrival, to visit him. Their object was to solicit the aid of the French against the Chickasaws, who harrassed them by frequent irruptions in their villages. The French chief, considering that his colony was too weak to be embroiled in the quarrels of the Indian tribes near it, declined giving his visitors any offensive aid, but sent an officer, accompanied by a few Canadians, to afford the Choctaws his good offices as mediator.

A party of the Alibamons visited the fort, about the same time.

The utter neglect of agriculture, and the failure of the supplies which had been relied on from France, St. Domingo and Vera Cruz, reduced the colony to great distress during the summer: the people having nothing to subsist on, but a few baskets of corn, occasionally brought in by the natives, and what could be obtained by the chase or drawn from the

water by the net or line. In the fall, disease added its horrors to those of famine. Most of the colonists sickened and many died; their number was reduced to one hundred and fifty. They were not relieved till late in December.

Iberville now arrived with two ships of the line and a brig, bringing a reinforcement of troops.

In pursuance of the king's instructions, Bienville left twenty men, under the orders of Boisbriant, at the fort of Biloxi, and moved his head quarters to the western bank of the river Mobile.

The officer, who had accompanied the Choctaws and Mobilians, now returned. He had been successful, in his mediation, and a peace had been concluded, between these Indians and the Chickasaws.

A supply of provisions from Vera Cruz, where Bienville had sent a light vessel, added to a large one by the fleet, restored abundance in the colony, and enabled him to afford relief to the garrison of Pensacola, which was reduced to great distress.

Besides the new settlement on Mobile river, another was now begun on Massacre Island, the ominous name of which was changed to Dauphine Island. Its fine port affording a much more convenient place to land goods, than Ship Island, the coast of Biloxi or Mobile river. Barracks and stores were built, with a number of houses, and a fort was erected to afford them protection.

Iberville returned to France in the fleet.

William the third of England, died on the sixteenth of March, in consequence of a fall from his horse, in the fifty-third year of his age. Mary, his queen, had died in 1694. Neither left issue—Anne her sister, succeeded him.

The new queen declared war against France and Spain, on the second of May.

There were other causes of irritation between England and France, than the late increase of power and influence France had acquired in consequence of the occupation of the throne of Spain, by a grandson of Louis the fourteenth. The late treaty of peace in 1696, had left the boundary line, between the dominions of France and England, unascertained. The queen claimed the whole country to the west of the river of St. Croix, as part of the province of Massachusetts; while the king sought to exclude her subjects from the fisheries on the coast, and from all the country east of the Kennebec river. De Callieres, Governor of Canada, proposed to Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts, that the colonies should forbear taking part in the war between the mother countries; but the offer was not acceded to, and hostilities began immediately, by irruptions of the French of Canada and their Indian allies, on the frontier settlements of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Governor Moore, of South Carolina, on the first rumour of the declaration of war, proposed to the Legislature to furnish him the means of making an excursion into Florida. A war with Spain was already a popular measure in all the English American provinces. The colonists considered it as the readiest mean they had of acquiring specie, of which there was generally a great scarcity among them. The application of Moore was successful, and he soon proceeded to the attack of St. Augustine.

This alarmed the Spaniards at Pensacola, and they solicited Bienville's aid. At the same time, an officer from the garrison of St. Augustine reached Mobile, on a like errand. The French chief afforded to the governor of Pensacola arms and ammunition, and sent one hundred men, Canadians, Europeans and Indians, to St. Augustine. At the same time he des-

patched a light vessel to Vera Cruz, to convey information to the vice-roy, of the danger of the possessions of his sovereign, in the neighbourhood of Louisiana and Carolina.

In the meanwhile, the English of Carolina had induced the Chickasaws to send emissaries among the Indians, in the vicinity of the settlements of the French on the gulf, to induce them to take part in the war; and in the fall, father Davion and father Limoges, who dwelt among the Natchez, came to Mobile and informed Bienville, the Coroas had killed Foucault their colleague, and three other Frenchmen. The commandant of the fort at Albany had also prevailed on the Iroquois to attack the frontier settlers in Canada. The Indians fell also on detached plantations, which the French had, to the south of the lakes, as far as the Wabash. Juchereau, a relation of St. Denys, had led thither a number of Canadians, who successfully employed themselves in collecting furs and peltries. Driven from this place, he had led his party westerly; and a pirogue with some of his men reached Mobile, on the third of February. Their object was to solicit the assistance of the government of Louisiana: Bienville had been instructed to afford it. But the relief he had lately yielded to the Spaniards, the length of time he had been without succour from France, and the wants of his colony, limited the aid he gave Juchereau, to one barrel of powder.

In the summer, information reached Mobile of the death of the Chevalier de Callieres, governor-general of New France, of which government, Louisiana made a part. He was succeeded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

The men sent by Bienville, to the relief of St. Augustine, found, on their arrival there, a naval force

from the island of Cuba, on the approach of which, the troops of Carolina and their red allies had retreated. Becancourt, who had gone to Vera Cruz to give information of the danger of St. Augustine, returned with a letter from the Duke of Albuquerque, vice-roy of Mexico, in which that nobleman communicated to Bienville, the orders he had from his sovereign, to admit vessels from Louisiana in the ports of his government, and to allow them to export provisions.

The men, whom Lesueur had left at Fort Thuillier among the Sioux, for awhile thought that the Mississippi was a sufficient barrier between them and the Indians, under the influence of the English; but they now found themselves so vigorously attacked, that they could no longer retain their position. They descended the Mississippi, and reached Mobile on the third of March, 1704.

The government of South Carolina, after the forced retreat of its troops, from St. Augustine, had employed a part of them against the Indians, in its neighbourhood, under the protection of Spain. Large parties of the Cherokees, Cohuntas, Talapooses and Alibamons, swelled by a number of negroes and headed by Englishmen, invaded the country of the Apalaches. An officer of the garrison of St. Marks, came to Mobile, to inform Bienville that the Apalache Indians had applied to the commandant of that fort, for a supply of arms and ammunition, which it had not been thought prudent to grant. In consequence of this, two thousand of these Indians had been compelled to remove towards Carolina. Two of their villages, the inhabitants of which were catholics, had remained faithful to the Spaniards; their warriors had fought bravely, and two hundred of them had been killed. The enemy had committed much

waste in the neighbourhood, principally, in the removal or destruction of cattle. Bienville was solicited to send a few soldiers to St. Marks: but he thought his garrison too weak to be divided, and supplied the Spaniards with military stores only.

At the same time, a number of Englishmen came among the Alibamons, with the view of inducing them to fall on the French. These Indians resisted their solicitations, and sent word to Bienville to be on his guard, offering to furnish him with corn, of which, they said they had great abundance. The garrison being ill supplied with this article, Dubreuil was sent with a few soldiers to effect a purchase. One of these returned soon after, with a broken arm. He related that the party had been met by twelve of these Indians, at the distance of two days' journey from their village, with the calumet of peace; but, at night, the Indians treacherously rose on them, and murdered his companions. He succeeded in making his escape, by throwing himself into the river, after having received the stroke of an axe on his arm. The Indians fired several times at him, while he was swimming.

A small fleet, composed of a French frigate, under the order of Lefevre de la Barre, a son of the late governor of New France, and four Spanish sloops, made this year an unsuccessful attack on Charleston, in South Carolina. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, governor of that province, having had timely information of the approach of the enemy, made a powerful and successful resistance.

Louisiana now suffered greatly from the scarcity of provisions. But, the governor of Pensacola, returning from a visit to Mexico, brought a very ample supply for his garrison, and cheerfully relieved his neighbours. They had been obliged to separate, in



small parties, along the coast, in order to seek a precarious subsistence out of the water. Shortly afterwards, the return of Becancourt, who had been sent to Vera Cruz, restored abundance. Bienville received by him the thanks of the vice-roy, for the aid afforded to the garrisons of St. Marks and Pensacola, with assurance of his readiness to supply the French at Louisiana, with any thing they might need.

The arrival, soon after, of a ship from France (under Chateaugué, a brother of Bienville) loaded with provisions and military stores, removed for awhile the apprehension of famine. Seventeen new colonists came in her, and brought implements of husbandry.

The satisfaction, which the restoration of plenty created, was marred by the arrival of a party of Chickasaws, who reported that five Frenchmen had been killed by the Tagoniaco Indians, who dwelt on one of the streams which flow into the Wabash. These Indians had been excited to this aggression, by some English traders, who had lately arrived among them from Virginia.

These repeated and unprovoked outrages from the Indians, induced Bienville to march against the Alibamons, whose treacherous conduct towards the men he had sent, on their invitation to purchase corn in their village, remained unpunished. He left the fort about Christmas, with forty chosen men, attended by a few Chickasaws. He did not meet any of the enemy until after a march of several days, towards night, and was advised by his officers to delay the attack till day-light. The Alibamons occupied an eminence of difficult access, which the French approached. The night was dark and the ground covered with rushes, and the noise, necessarily made by the French, in their progress, enabled the foe to pour

in a destructive fire. Two men were killed, and one was dangerously wounded. The Indians now dispersed, and Bienville was compelled to return without inflicting any other injury, than the capture of five pirogues laden with provisions. The Chickasaws pursued the Alibamons, and afterwards returned to the fort, with five scalps, for which they were liberally rewarded.

The garrison received, during the summer, an addition of seventy-five soldiers, who arrived in a fifty gun ship, commanded by Decoudray. Two Grey Sisters came in the same ship to attend the hospital, and also five priests of the foreign missions (sent by the bishop of Quebec, of whose diocese Louisiana made a part.) Besides these military and spiritual supplies, an ample stock of provisions was brought. Neither were other wants of the colonists forgotten: twenty-three poor girls now landed, and immediately found as many husbands.

A vessel, in which Becancourt, had been sent to Vera Cruz to obtain provisions, returned early in the fall; but he had died on the return voyage.

Ample as the stock of provisions in the colony was now, compared with that of former years, an accident happened in Pensacola, which rendered an early attention to future supplies necessary. The fort was consumed by fire, and the garrison lost its winter stock of provisions. They did not seek relief among their neighbours in vain.

A party of Choctaws brought to Mobile the scalps of five Alibamons. From them and a party of Chickasaws, Bienville learnt that a number of Englishmen were busily employed in their villages, in their endeavours to estrange these Indians, from their alliance with the French.

Disease made this year considerable havoc in the

colony, and small as its population was, it counted thirty-five deaths in the fall.

Father Davion, one of the missionaries who had lately descended the Mississippi, was still in the fort, and it had been thought hazardous to permit him to return. His flock greatly lamented the protracted absence of their pastor. In November, two Tunica chiefs came to escort him back. Bienville told them he could not consent to the return of the priest among them, till they had avenged the death of father Foucault, his colleague, murdered by the Coroas, at the instigation of the English, and he expected they would seize the traders of that nation among them, and bring them prisoners to Mobile, with their goods: he offered to supply them with ammunition: his proposition was accepted, and St. Denys proposed to go with them, accompanied by twelve Canadians. The party was to be supported by another Canadian of the name of Lambert, who was returning to the Wabash with forty of his neighbours. The Tunica chiefs sat off, having promised to meet St. Denys at the Natchez. Bienville gave orders for building pirogues; but before they were finished, accounts reached Mobile of the total destruction of the French settlers on the Wabash, by the Indian allies of the British. Lambert gave up his intended journey, and it being thought dangerous for St. Denys and his party to proceed, without the escort which had been anticipated, the project was abandoned. Juchereau sent down to Mobile fifteen thousand hides, which he and his companions had collected on the Wabash.

The Indians near the French were not always in peace among themselves. In the spring, the Chickasaws made an irruption into the country of the Choctaws, captured a number of their people, car-

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ried them to South Carolina, and sold them as slaves. There were about forty of the former, men, women and children, around the fort of Mobile. These people solicited an escort from Bienville, as they could not return home without crossing the country of the latter. He detached St. Denys with twenty Canadians, on this service. As they approached the first Choctaw village, he went in alone to beseech the chiefs to allow the Indians he escorted to pass. In granting this request, the chiefs stipulated that their head man, should be allowed to reproach the Chickasaws, in the presence of the French, for the treachery of their people. They were brought into an open field for this purpose, with their guns cocked and their knives in their hands. The Choctaw chiefs were surrounded by three hundred warriors. Their head man, holding a calumet, began by upbraiding the Chickasaws, with the perfidity of their nation. He assured them that, if the French took any interest in their safety, it was from a want of knowledge of their baseness, and it was just they should expiate by their deaths the crimes of their people. He lowered the plume of the calumet, and at this preconcerted signal, the Choctaws taking a correct aim, fired. The Chickasaw women and children alone escaped. This was not, however, effected without the destruction of some of the Choctaws. St. Denys, attempting to interfere, was himself wounded. The Choctaw chiefs brought him back to the fort and a great number of their warriors followed in mournful procession.

During the next month, a number of Chickasaw chiefs went to the Tunicas, and embarking, at their village, descended the Mississippi and bayou Manchac. They crossed the lakes and came to Mobile, to solicit Bienville's mediation, in effecting a reconciliation, with the Choctaws. Six other chiefs came.

in another direction, on the same errand. He sent an officer, attended by three Canadians and a number of Thome Indians, to request some of the Choctaw chiefs to pay him a visit. They came accordingly, and peace was concluded between the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and the Thome and Mobile tribes.

The Choctaw chiefs had scarcely returned home, when their country was invaded by two thousand Cherokees, commanded by an English officer from Carolina. Several of their villages were destroyed and three hundred of their women and children were led away into slavery.

At the time the intelligence of this irruption reached Mobile, father Gratiot, a Jesuit missionary at the Illinois, reached the fort and reported that a party of white men from Virginia had come among these Indians, and instigated them to rise against the French, a number of whom had been killed. The holy man had with much difficulty effected his escape, but not without receiving a wound, which was still deemed dangerous.

A party of Choctaws brought the scalps of nine Alibamons to Bienville. These Indians were incessantly committing hostilities against the French and their allies. Boisbriant was sent with twelve Canadians and the Choctaws, to chastise them; but this expedition had but little success. Two scalps of the Alibamons were brought by the Choctaws.

The peace, which through the mediation of Bienville, the Choctaws and Chickasaws had concluded, in the fort of Mobile, was but of a short duration. Towards the end of March, the latter made an unprovoked invasion of the country of the former, and brought away one hundred and fifty persons. The French chief could not forget that the Choctaws

had yielded to his representations, in burying the hatchet; and he thought it his duty to assist them against the violators of the treaty. He sent them a considerable supply of powder and lead.

Hostilities among the Indian nations were not confined to the neighbourhood of Mobile and Carolina; but extended across the country to the banks of the Mississippi. The Tensas, compelled by the Yazous to abandon their villages near the Natchez, had come down to the Bayagoulas, who received them with great cordiality. The treacherous guests, regardless of the laws of hospitality, rose, in the night, on their unsuspecting hosts and slaughtered the greater part of them. Fearful afterwards that the Ounas and Colapissas, the allies of the Bayagoulas, might be induced, by those who escaped, to avenge the death of their countrymen, the Tunicas sent four warriors of the Chetimachas and Yachimichas, to join them. The houses and fields of the Bayagoulas were destroyed and ravaged. The Tensas now turned their arms against their allies, made several prisoners and carried them into slavery.

The misfortune of the Bayagoulas excited no sympathy among the French. It was considered as a just retaliation for their treachery in destroying their former friends and neighbours, the Mongoulachas.

In the fall, a party of the Hurons, from Detroit, came down against the Arkansas; who, being accidentally apprised of their approach, went forward, met, and destroyed most of them. A few of the invaders were made prisoners and brought to the village of the victors, where they were put to death with excruciating tortures.

The colonists learned, with much regret, in the fall of the year, the death of Iberville. He had sail-

ed from France, with a large fleet, for the attack of Jamaica: but, learning that the English, conscious of their danger, had made such preparations as would probably prevent his success, he proceeded to the islands of St. Kitts and Nevis, on which he raised large contributions. He then proceeded to St. Domingo, where he intended taking one thousand troops for an expedition against Charleston. The yellow fever made a great havoc in his fleet. He fell a victim to the dire disease; and the expedition was abandoned.

An Englishman, trading among the Tunicas, was despoiled of his goods: he returned to Carolina and prevailed on some of the Chickasaws, Alibamons and other tribes in alliance with his nation, to accompany and assist him in taking revenge. The Tunicas, finding themselves too weak to resist this invasion, sought refuge among the Oumas; and, like the Tensas, rewarded the hospitality they received, by rising in the unsuspecting hour of rest on this party, and murdering or making prisoners of most of them. Some of the Oumas, who escaped, removed to a stream, now known as the bayou St. John, not very distant from the spot on which the city of New Orleans was afterwards built.

On New Year's day, Bourgoing, appointed by the bishop of Quebec, his vicar general in Louisiana, arrived at Mobile by the way of the Mississippi. He brought accounts of the death of St. Cosme, a missionary and three other Frenchmen, by the Chetimachas. Bienville sent presents to his allies on the Mississippi, to induce them to declare war against these Indians. He was not able to raise more than eighty warriors. St. Denys joined them with seven Canadians, and led this little band into the country of the Cheti-

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machas, destroyed their villages, ravaged their fields, and dispersed the inhabitants.

During the summer, an unsuccessful attempt was made on Acadie, from New England.

Two hundred Indians, headed by a few Englishmen, came to Pensacola, set fire to the houses near the fort, killed ten Spaniards and a Frenchman, and made twelve Apalache or Choctaw Indians prisoners.

A party of Touachas came to Mobile with two scalps and a slave of the Abikas in the beginning of November; they reported the Alibansons were in daily expectation of English troops from Charleston, with whom they were preparing to march to a second attack on Pensacola. Accordingly in the latter part of the month, Bienville was informed that the place was actually besieged. At the head of one hundred and twenty Canadians and as many Indians, he marched to its relief. He reached it on the eighth of December; the besiegers had withdrawn on hearing of the approach of the French. Their force consisted only of three hundred and fifty Indians, and thirteen white men, commanded by one Cheney, commissioned by Sir Nathaniel Johnson, governor of South Carolina. The French, after staying three days in Pensacola, were ordered, on account of the scarcity of provisions, to return.

A vessel from Havana, laden with provisions, brandy and tobacco, came early in January to trade with the colony. This was the first instance, ten years after the arrival of the French in Louisiana, of a vessel coming to trade with them.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada had planned a considerable expedition against New England. His allied Indians kept the frontier settlers of that country in constant alarm. He was, however, disappointed in his expectation of raising the



force he had contemplated. A strong party of Canadians and Indians, nevertheless, entered the province of Massachusetts, and destroyed a part of the town of Haverhill, killed one hundred of its inhabitants, and carried off seventy prisoners. In the pursuit, however, a number of the prisoners were retaken, and a few of the French killed.

In the following year, the British cabinet determined on vigorous and simultaneous attacks on Montreal and Quebec.

The first was to be conducted by General Nicholson, successively lieutenant-governor of New York and Virginia: he was to proceed through lake Champlain. He led his force to Wood creek, where he was to wait the arrival of a British fleet at Boston, at which place it was to receive the troops destined to act against Quebec. The New England provinces, and that of New York had very cheerfully raised the men required for this service. The expectations, which this armament had excited in the British provinces, were disappointed, in consequence of the fleet, which was to proceed to Boston, being ordered on another service in Portugal.

The success of the settlement, attempted in Louisiana, not having answered the hopes of the court of France, it was determined to make a considerable change in the government of the colony. With this view, de Muys, an officer who had served with distinction in Canada during the preceding and present war, was appointed governor-general of Louisiana: the great distance from that colony to Quebec, the seat of the governor-general of New-France, of which it was a dependence, had induced the belief that the former ought to be independent of the latter. Diron d'Artaguette was sent as commissary ordonateur, with instructions to inquire into the conduct of the

former administrators of the colony, against whom complaints had been made, to which the ill success of the establishment seemed to give consequence. The frigate, in which these gentlemen had embarked, arrived at Ship island in the beginning of the New Year. The governor-general had died during the passage.

D'Artaguette found Louisiana in comparative tranquility. Vessels from St. Domingo, Martinique and La Rochelle, now came to trade with the colonists.

Early in September, a privateer from Jamaica, landed his men on Dauphine island, where they committed considerable depredations. This is the first instance of hostility of white people against the colony.

On the twenty-fourth, General Nicholson with a corps of marines, and four regiments of infantry, arrived from Boston, before Port Royal in Acadie. He immediately invested the town, which soon after surrendered. Its name, in compliment to the British queen, was changed to that of Annapolis. Colonel Vetché was left there in command.

The settlement near the fort at Mobile suffered much in the spring, from the overflowing of the river; in consequence of which, at the recommendation of d'Artaguette, the spot was abandoned, and a new fort built higher up. It was the one, which till very lately, stood immediately below the present city of Mobile.

The government of South Carolina prevailed again on the Chickasaws to attack the Choctaws, who were always the steadfast friends of the French. When intelligence of this reached Mobile, there were about thirty Chickasaw chiefs around the fort. Bienville, at their request sent Chateauguè, with thirty men to escort them home. This service was successfully

performed, notwithstanding the Choctaws made great efforts to intercept these Indians.

The government of France from this period ceased furnishing supplies to Louisiana, and trusted to the industry of private adventurers, to whom however, it afforded some aid. A frigate arrived in the month of September, laden with provisions by individuals; the king furnished the ship only. D'Artaguette returned in her, much regretted by the colonists; observations, during his stay in Louisiana, perfectly convinced him, that its slow progress could not be accelerated by Bienville, with the feeble means of which he had the command.

In the summer, General Hill, at the head of six thousand five hundred European and Provincial troops, sailed from Boston for the attack of Quebec; on the twenty-third of August, a violent storm cast eight of his transports on shore near Egg Island. One thousand of his men perished: the ships were greatly injured; and this disaster induced him to return. In the mean while, General Nicholson had led four thousand men destined to the siege of Montreal to Albany. The return of the fleet having enabled the Marquis de Vaudreuil to support Montreal, with all his force, Nicholson retrograded.

A ship of twenty-six guns, under the orders of La-ville Voisin, came to Ship Island in the beginning of the next year. This gentleman had made a fruitless attempt to sell her cargo to the Spaniards at Touspe. He had brought to the viceroy letters, which he supposed would have insured his admission into the ports of Mexico; but through some mismanagement his scheme failed; not however, without his selling his cargo to some Spanish merchants, who engaged to receive it at Ship Island. He grew impatient of waiting for them, and went on a short cruize towards St.

Antonio. The merchants arrived with their cash, waited awhile, and went away without seeing him.

On the arrival of d'Artaguette in France, and the report he made of the state of the colony, the king's council despaired of realizing the advantages which had been anticipated from it, as long as it remained on its former footing, and determined to grant the exclusive commerce of Louisiana, with great privileges, to Anthony Crozat, an eminent merchant.

The war was terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, on the thirtieth of March of the following year: by its twelfth article, France ceded to Great Britain, "Nova Scotia or Acadie, with its ancient boundaries; as also the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis, and all other things, in the said parts, which depends on these lands."

There were at this period in Louisiana two companies of infantry of fifty men each, and seventy-five Canadian volunteers in the king's pay. The rest of the population consisted of twenty-eight families; one half of whom were engaged, not in agriculture, but in horticulture: the heads of the others were shop and tavern keepers, or employed in mechanical occupations. A number of individuals derived their support by ministering to the wants of the troops. There were but twenty negroes in the colony: adding to these the king's officers and clergy, the aggregate amount of the population was three hundred and eighty persons. A few female Indians and children were domesticated in the houses of the white people, and groups of the males were incessantly sauntering, or encamped around them.

The collection of all these individuals, on one compact spot, could have claimed no higher appellation than that of a hamlet; yet they were dispersed through a vast extent of country, the parts of which

were separated by the sea, by lakes and wide rivers. Five forts, or large batteries, had been erected for their protection at Mobile, Biloxi, on the Mississippi, and at Ship and Dauphine Islands.

Lumber, hides and peltries, constituted the objects of exportation, which the colony presented to commerce. A number of woodsmen, or *coureurs de bois* from Canada, had followed the missionaries, who had been sent among the nations of Indians, between that province and Louisiana. These men plied within a circle, of a radius of several hundred miles, of which the father's chapel was the centre, in search of furs, peltries and hides. When they deemed they had gathered a sufficient quantity of these articles, they floated down the Mississippi, and brought them to Mobile where they exchanged them for European goods, with which they returned. The natives nearer to the fort, carried on the same trade. Lumber was easily obtained around the settlement: of late, vessels, from St. Domingo and Martinique, brought sugar, coffee, molasses and rum to Louisiana, and took its peltries, hides and lumber in exchange. The colonists procured some specie from the garrison of Pensacola, whom they supplied with vegetables and fowls. Those who followed this sort of trade, by furnishing also the officers and troops, obtained flour and salt provisions from the king's stores, which were abundantly supplied from France and Vera Cruz. Trifling, but successful essays had shown, that indigo, tobacco and cotton could be cultivated to great advantage: but hands were wanting. Experience had shewn, that the frequent and heavy mists and fogs were unfavourable to the culture of wheat, by causing it to rust.

The French had been unfortunate in the selection of the places they had occupied. The sandy coast

of Biloxi is as sterile as the deserts of Arabia. The stunted shrubs of Ship and Daupine Islands, announce the poverty of the soil by which they are nurtured. In the contracted spot, on which Sauvolle had located his brother on the Mississippi, the few soldiers under him, insulated during part of the year, had the mighty stream to combat. The buzz and sting of the musquetoës, the hissing of the snakes, the croakings of the frogs, and the cries of the alligators, incessantly asserted, that the lease the God of nature had given these reptiles of this part of the country, had still a few centuries to run. In the barrens, around the new fort of Mobile, the continual *sugh* of the needle-leaved tree seemed to warn d'Artaguette his people must recede farther from the sea, before they came to good land.

It is true, during the last ten years, war had in some degree checked the prosperity of the colony, although during the whole of its continuance, except the descent of the crew of a privateer from Jamaica, no act of hostility was committed by an enemy within the colony; but the incessant irruptions on the land of the Indians, under the protection of Louisiana by those in alliance with Carolina, prevented the extension of the commerce and settlements of the French towards the north. Yet, all these difficulties would have been promptly overcome, if agriculture had been attended to. The coast of the sea abounded with shell and other fish; the lagoons near Mobile river were covered with water fowls; the forests teemed with deer; the prairies with buffaloes, and the air with wild turkies. By cutting down the lofty pine trees around the fort, the colonists would have uncovered a soil, abundantly producing corn and peas. By abandoning the posts on the Mississippi, Ship and Daupine Islands, and at the Biloxi, the necessary

military duties would have left a considerable number of individuals to the labours of tillage; especially if prudence had spared frequent divisions of them to travel for thousands of miles in quest of ochres and minerals, or in the discovery of distant land, while that which was occupied, was suffered to remain unproductive. Thus, in the concerns of communities, as in those of individuals, immediate, real and secure advantages are foregone, for distant, dubious and often visionary ones.

According to a return made by the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the minister, there were, at this period, in New France, including Acadie, four thousand four hundred and eighty persons capable of bearing arms; which supposes a population of about twenty-five thousand.

*Charlevoix.—Laharpe.*

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Charter.*—*Lamotte Cadillac, Duclou, Lebas, Dirigois, La-loire des Ursins.*—*Superior Council.*—*Arrangements with Crozat.*—*His plans.*—*Misunderstanding between the new governor and Bienville.*—*Indians*—*Card money of Canada.*—*Part of the Choctaws drawn to the British.*—*Fort Toulouse.*—*St. Denys.*—*George I.*—*Lamotte Cadillac goes to the Illinois in search of a silver mine, and is disappointed.*—*The Choctaws are prevailed on to drive the British traders from their villages.*—*Massacre of the Indians in South Carolina.*—*Bienville reconciles the Choctaws.*—*Arrival of two companies of infantry.*—*Marrigny de Mandeville.*—*Bagot.*—*Rouzant.*—*Bienville commandant-general on the Mississippi.*—*Ships from La Rochelle and Martinico not allowed to trade.*—*Louis XV.*—*The Duke of Orleans.*—*The Cherokees attack the French on the Wabash.*—*Bienville goes to the Mississippi.*—*Has a conference with the Chaouachas.*—*Reaches Natchez.*—*Is informed of the murder of two Frenchmen, and demands the head of a Sun.*—*An Indian consents to die in his room, and his head is brought to Bienville, who refuses to receive it.*—*The same deception is attempted with as little success on the next day.*—*Six pirogues from the Illinois are prevented from falling into the hands of the Indians.*—*The Natchez kill one of their chiefs, who participated in the murder.*—*Bienville goes to their village.*—*He builds Fort Rosalie, and leaves a garrison in it.*—*One of Crozat's ships arrives at Mobile.*—*St. Denys' return from Mexico.*—*Re-establishment and new modeling of the Superior Council.*—*Ordinance relating to redemptioners and muskets.*—*Delery, Lafreniere and Beau-lieu go on a trading journey to the Spanish provinces.*—*Dutisne goes with a detachment to build a fort at Nat-*  
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*chitoches.—L'Epinaï and Hubert, and three companies of infantry arrive.—New colonists.—Trefontaine, Gimel, Dubreuil and Mossy.—The bay of Ship Island is stopped up.—Misunderstanding between Bienville and L'Epinaï and Hubert.—Crozat's agents make a last but unsuccessful attempt to trade with Vera Cruz.—He surrenders his privilege.*

CROZAT'S charter bears date the twenty-sixth of September, 1712.

Its preamble states, that the attention the king has always given to the interests and commerce of his subjects, induced him, notwithstanding the almost continual wars he was obliged to sustain, since the beginning of his reign, to seek every opportunity of increasing and extending the trade of his colonies in America; that, accordingly, he had in 1683, given orders for exploring the territory on the northern continent, between New France and New Mexico; and Lasalle, who had been employed in this service, had succeeded so far, as to leave no doubt of the facility of opening a communication between Canada and the gulf of Mexico, through the large rivers that flow in the intermediate space; which had induced the king, immediately after the peace of Riswick to send thither a colony and maintain a garrison, to keep up the possession taken in 1683, of the territory on the gulf, between Carolina on the east, and old and new Mexico on the west. But, war having broke out soon after in Europe, he had not been able to draw from this colony the advantages he had anticipated, because the merchants of the kingdom, engaged in maritime commerce, had relations and concerns in the other French colonies, which they could not relinquish.

The king declares that, on the report made to him

of the situation of the territory, now known as the province of Louisiana, he has determined to establish there a commerce, which will be very beneficial to France; it being now necessary to seek in foreign countries many articles of commerce, which may be obtained there, for merchandize of the growth or manufacture of the kingdom.

He accordingly grants to Crozat the exclusive commerce of all the territory, possessed by the crown, between old and new Mexico, and Carolina, and all the settlements, ports, roads and rivers therein—principally the port and road of Dauphine Island, before called Massacre Island, the river St. Louis, previously called the Mississippi, from the sea to the Illinois, the river St. Philip, before called Missouri, the river St. Jerome, before called the Wabash, with all the land, lakes and rivers mediately or immediately flowing into any part of the river St. Louis or Mississippi.

The territory, thus described, is to be and remain included, under the style of the government of Louisiana, and to be a dependence of the government of New France, to which it is to be subordinate. The king's territory, beyond the Illinois, is to be and continue part of the government of New France, to which it is annexed; and he reserves to himself the faculty of enlarging that of Louisiana.

The right is given to the grantee, to export from France into Louisiana, all kinds of goods, wares and merchandize, during fifteen years, and to carry on there such a commerce as he may think fit. All persons, natural or corporate, are inhibited from trading there, under pain of the confiscation of their goods, wares, merchandize and vessels: and the officers of the king are commanded to assist the grantee, his agents and factors, in seizing them.

Permission is given him to open and work mines, and to export the ore to France during fifteen years. The property of all the mines, he may discover and work, is given him: yielding to the king the fourth part of the gold and silver, to be delivered in France, at the cost of the grantee, but at the risk of the king, and the tenth part of all other metals. He may search for precious stones and pearls, yielding to the king one-fifth of them, in the same manner as gold and silver. Provision is made for the re-union of the king's domain of such mines as may cease during three years to be worked.

Liberty is given to the grantee, to sell to the French and Indians of Louisiana, such goods, wares and merchandize as he may import, to the exclusion of all others, without his express and written order. He is allowed to purchase and export to France, hides, skins and peltries. But, to favour the trade of Canada, he is forbidden to purchase beaver skins, or to export them to France or elsewhere.

The absolute property, in fee simple, is vested in him of all the establishments and manufactures he may make in silk, indigo, wool and leather, and all the land he may cultivate, with all buildings, &c.; he taking from the governor and intendant grants, which are to become void, on the land ceasing to be improved.

The laws, edicts and ordinances of the realm, and the custom of Paris are extended to Louisiana.

The obligation is imposed on the grantee to send yearly two vessels from France to Louisiana, in each of which he is to transport two boys or girls, and the king may ship free from freight twenty-five tons of provisions, ammunition, &c. for the use of the colony, and more, paying freight: and passage is to be afford-

ed to the king's officers and soldiers for a fixed compensation.

One hundred quintals of powder are to be furnished annually to the grantee, out of the king's stores, at cost.

An exemption from duties on the grantee's goods, wares and merchandize, imported to, or exported from Louisiana, is allowed.

The king promises to permit, if he thinks it proper, the importation of foreign goods to Louisiana, on the application of the grantee, and the production of his invoices, &c.

The use is given him of the boats, pirogues and canoes, belonging to the king, for loading and unloading; he keeping and returning them, in good order, at the expiration of his grant.

The faculty is allowed him to send annually a vessel to Guinea, for negroes, whom he may sell in Louisiana, to the exclusion of all others.

After the expiration of nine years, the grantee is to pay the field officers and garrison kept in Louisiana, and on the occurrence of vacancies, commissions are to be granted to officers presented by the grantee, if approved.

A fifty gun ship, commanded by the Marquis de la Jonquere, landed at Dauphine Island, on the seventeenth of May, 1713, the officers who were to administer the government of the colony under the new system.

The principal of these were, Lamotte Cadillac, an officer who had served with distinction in Canada, during the preceding war, who was appointed governor; Duclos, commissary ordonnateur; Lebas, comptroller; Dirigoin, the principal director of Crozat's concerns in Louisiana, and Laloire des Ursins, who was to attend to them on the Mississippi.

The ship brought a very large stock of provisions and goods.

The governor and commissary ordonnateur, by an edict of the eighteenth of December, of the preceding year, had been constituted a superior council, vested with the same powers as the councils of St. Domingo and Martinico; but the existence of this tribunal was limited to three years from the day of its meeting.

The expenses of the king for the salaries of his officers in Louisiana, were fixed at an annual sum of ten thousand dollars. It was to be paid to Crozat in France, and the drafts of the commissary ordonnateur, were to be paid in Crozat's stores, in cash, or in goods, with an advance of fifty per cent. Sales in all other cases were to be made, in these stores, at an advance of one hundred per cent.

Commerce was Crozat's principal object, and he contemplated carrying it on chiefly with the Spaniards. His plan was to have large warehouses on Dauphine Island, and to keep small vessels plying with goods to Pensacola, Tampico, Touspe, Campeachy and Vera Cruz. His designs were however frustrated; the Spaniards, after the peace, refusing admittance to French vessels in those ports, on the solicitation of the British, to whom the king had granted privilege by the treaty of the Assiento.

He had recommended to Lamotte Cadillac, to whom he had given an interest in his concerns in Louisiana, to send a strong detachment to the Illinois, and towards the Spanish settlements in the west, to be employed in the search of mines and the protection of his commerce.

The benefits, which the French government had anticipated from a change of administrators in Louisiana, were not realized. An unfortunate misunder-

standing took place between the new governor and Bienville—the former being jealous of the affection, which the soldiers and Indians manifested to the latter.

La Louisiane, a ship belonging to Crozat, arrived in the summer, with a large supply of provisions and goods, and brought a considerable number of passengers.

In the course of the winter, deputations from most of the neighbouring nations of Indians came to visit and solicit the protection of the new chief of the colony.

Canada was so overwhelmed, by repeated emissions of card money, and the consequent ruin and distress was so great, that the planters and merchants united in a petition to the king, for the redemption of the cards at one half of their nominal value, offering to lose the other.

The British of Carolina, after the peace of Utrecht, gave a great extension to their commerce with the Indians near the back settlements of the province. Their traders had erected storehouses among the tribes, in alliance with the French, as far as the Natchez and the Yazous. The Choctaws were so attached to the French, that they had heretofore refused to allow the British to trade among them. In the spring, however, a party of the British, heading two thousand Indians of the Alibamons, Talapouches and Chickasaws, came among the Choctaws; they were received in thirty of the villages: two only refusing to admit them. Violence being threatened against the minority, the Choctaws of these two villages, built a fort, in which they collected, bidding defiance to their countrymen, the British and their allies. They held out for a considerable time: at last, on the eve of being overwhelmed, they escaped

during the night, and made their way to the French fort at Mobile, where they were cordially greeted.

While the bulk of the Choctaws were thus diverted to the British, the Alibamons testified their attachment to the French, by aiding them to build a fortress on their river. It was called Fort Toulouse.

Lamotte Cadillac, being disappointed in his hope of trading with the Spanish ports on the gulf, made in the summer, an attempt to find a vent for Crozat's goods, in the interior parts of Mexico. His object also was to check the progress of the Spaniards, whom he understood, were preparing to advance their settlements in the province of Texas, to the neighbourhood of Natchitoches. St. Denys was therefore sent with a large quantity of goods, attended by thirty Canadians and some Indians, on this service.

In the month of August, Queen Anne, of Great Britain, died at the age of fifty, without issue, although she had given birth to nineteen children. She was the sixth and last sovereign of the house of Stuart. The crown, according to a statute for the exclusion of the children of James the second, passed to George, elector of Hanover, a grand-son of princess Sophia, grand-daughter of James the first.

The discovery of mines of the precious metals was a darling object with Lamotte Cadillac, and in the latter part of the winter, his credulity was powerfully acted upon. A man, named Dutigne, came from Canada, bringing from the Illinois two pieces of ore, which he asserted had been dug up in the neighbourhood of the Kaskaskias. The governor had them assayed, and they were found to contain a great proportion of silver. Elated at the discovery, and eager to secure what he considered as a rich mine, he sat off for the Illinois, without disclosing the cause of his sudden departure, and had the mortification to

learn on his arrival, that the pieces of ore, which Dutigne had brought down, came from Mexico, and had been left as curiosities, by a Spaniard, with a gentleman at the Illinois, from whom Dutigne had received them. Disappointed in his hope of the silver mine, he visited mines of lead on the western side of the Mississippi, and returned to Mobile, without boasting of the object of his errand.

The British, in the meanwhile, were progressing fast in their plan of establishing truckhouses among the Choctaws, Natchez, Yazous and other nations on the Mississippi. Bienville had sent for the principal chiefs of the Choctaws; he upbraided them for their treachery; urging that the French were the only people, from whom they could conveniently get the goods they wanted, as the British were at a comparative great distance from their villages. He prevailed on them to draw off all communication with them and the Indians in their alliance. The Choctaws kept their word, and on their return drove off every British trader from their villages.

An officer of the name of Young, a native of South Carolina, who was then with the Choctaws, made his way to the Natchez, and descended the Mississippi, with the view of inducing the Oumas, Pascagoulas, Chouachas and Colapissas, to enter into an alliance with his nation. Laloire des Ursins, Crozat's principal agent on the river, went up in a pirogue to meet the intruder. He found him near Bayou Manchac, arrested and sent him a prisoner to Mobile. Bienville allowed him to proceed to Pensacola, whence he attempted to reach Carolina by land, but was killed by some of the Thome Indians.

While Bienville was thus successful in preserving the attachment of the Choctaws and the natives on the Mississippi, he had the pleasure of learning that



the Indians bordering on Carolina, imitating the Choctaws, had turned against the British, and invaded the frontier settlements of that province. The Yamasees, the Creeks and Apalachians spread desolation and slaughter in the south; while the Cherokees, Congarees and Catawbias, ravaged the northern part. It was computed the enemy were between seven and eight thousand strong. Indeed every tribe from Florida to Cape Fear, had engaged in the war. The security of Charleston was doubted. It had not more than twelve hundred men fit to bear arms; but there were several forts near it, which offered places of refuge. Governor Craven marched with his small force against the enemy, who had advanced as far as Stono, where they burnt the church, as they did every house on their way. The governor advanced slowly and with caution, and as he proceeded, the straggling parties fled before him, till he reached the Saltketchers, where the Indians had pitched their great camp. Here a sharp battle ensued. The Indians were repulsed and the governor pursued them over the Savannah river. It is said the province lost, in this war, upwards of eight hundred men, women and children. The Yamasees were driven from the land they had heretofore occupied, behind Port Royal Island, on the northeast side of the Savannah river. They settled in the neighbourhood of the Spaniards, by whom the British alleged they had been instigated.

An officer of the garrison of Mobile, called St. Helen, who happened to be in a village of the Chickasaws, in which were fifteen British traders, was protected by a Choctaw chief, while these men were killed: but, being mistaken for one of them, by a young Indian who entered the cabin he was in, while he stooped to light a cigar, he was slain.

Bienville forwarded presents to the Indians, who had seceded from the British alliance, and directed his messengers to induce them to send to Mobile some of their head men, with whom a treaty might be made.

The Indians of the two villages of the Choctaws, who had remained steadfast in their friendship for the French, were still in the very neighbourhood of Mobile. Bienville sent word to the chiefs of the other villages, he would not confide in them as friends, but cease to have any communication with them, if they persisted in refusing to receive their countrymen. He required them to send him the head of Ousachoutie (the brother of the principal chief) who had been most active in introducing the British traders, and fomenting the civil war. The Choctaws, after some debate, slew the obnoxious chief, and sent for their countrymen of the two villages.

In the summer, the garrison was reinforced by two companies of infantry, commanded by Marigny de Mandeville and Bagot. With them came Rouzeau, sent to succeed Dirigoïn, as principal director of Crozat's concerns in Louisiana.

At the same time, Bienville received the commission of commander-general of all the establishments on the Mississippi, and the rivers flowing into it.

A ship from La Rochelle, and another from Martinico, came to Dauphine Island to trade. They were not permitted to land any goods, as this would have been a violation of Crozat's privilege.

Louis the fourteenth died on the first of September, in his seventy-seventh year, and was succeeded by his grand-son, Louis the fifteenth. The new monarch being in his sixth year only, his uncle, the Duke of Orleans, governed the kingdom, during the minority.

The Cherokees fell, in the beginning of the next year, on the French settlements on the Wabash, and killed two men, named Ramsay and Longeuil. The father of the latter, who was the king's lieutenant at Montreal, induced the Iroquois to declare war against the Cherokees. It was prosecuted with much vigour for a considerable time, and ended in the rout of the latter.

In execution of the king's order, Bienville assumed the command of the establishments on the Mississippi. A few French stragglers had settled among the Tunicas, Natchez, Yazous and Bayagoulas, and we have seen that clergymen from Canada visited, at times, these tribes, as missionaries, and some of them had located themselves among these Indians: but there was as yet, but one small fort on the mighty stream, not far from the sea. He was instructed to erect two others—one among the Natchez, and the other on the Wabash. The connection of Louisiana with Canada was a favourite object at court, and it had been very strongly recommended to both the colonial governments. There was already a considerable population on that river, with whom the Canadians kept a regular intercourse, by their hunters or *coureurs de bois*; this rising settlement afforded also a commodious resting place, to emigrants from Canada to Louisiana.

Laloi des Ursins, who lived in the fort on the Mississippi, as director of Crozat's concerns on the river, had built six large pirogues for the intended expedition, and Bienville having reached the fort with a detachment, ordered his men to proceed to the landing of the Tunicas. These Indians had lately removed to the banks of a lake, which empties in the Mississippi, through a bayou, to which they gave their name, which it still retains.

Bienville spent a few days with Laloire des Ursins, in order to have a conference with the head men of the Chouachas, a tribe who lived a little below the spot on which the city of New Orleans is built; on reaching his detachment, he was informed the Natchez had lately killed two Frenchmen, and stopped and robbed nine Canadians, who were descending the river. They had sent a messenger to solicit their aid in resisting the French. He sent an interpreter to the Natchez, directing him to conceal from them Bienville's knowledge of the murder—and to request them to meet him on friendly terms at their landing. In the hope that a shew of confidence might induce him to overlook what had happened, when he was informed of it, nineteen of these Indians attended with the nine Canadians. Among the former, were five sons and seven village chiefs.

Bienville had pitched his tent on the bank of the Mississippi, and the Indians, as they approached, were told they could not be received as friends till the death of his countrymen was expiated. The head of the deputation, turning towards the sun, addressed that luminary in an invocation, which he seemed to think would appease Bienville, to whom he tendered the calumet of peace. He was told no reconciliation could be expected, till the head of the chief, at whose instigation the French had been killed, was brought to the camp. He replied that chief was a great warrior and a sun. On this, Bienville had him and some of his companions arrested and put under guard and in irons.

On the next day, the captives sent a messenger to the village for the desired head. He returned with that of an Indian, who had consented to die for his chief: but Bienville, having been apprised of the deception, refused the proffered head. With as little

success, the same imposition was attempted the following day.

The Canadians having informed Bienville that six pirogues were on their way from the Illinois, and would probably be stopped by the Indians, if timely precautions were not taken, a canoe was despatched at night, and the people on the pirogues, being thus apprised of the impending danger, were enabled to avoid it.

A number of the Natchez came to Bienville's camp and surrendered themselves, desirous to lose their lives, that they might in the next world wait on their captive chiefs, if their lives were not spared. He told them he had no doubt that Longbeard, one of his prisoners, had been concerned in the murder, and was one of those who had favoured the admission of the British traders among the Natchez; but, as he had come into the camp of the French as a messenger of peace, his life would not be taken, till the determination of the nation, to refuse the head that had been demanded, was known. The Indians, in the camp, however expressed their wish that, as he was a turbulent fellow, and had often disturbed their tranquillity, he might be sacrificed. Bienville declined doing so, until he had the consent of the nation. The Indian was however secretly dispatched, by his countrymen, without the participation of any of the white people.

After this, Bienville and the French accompanied the Indians to their village. The property of the Canadians was restored, and with the consent of the Natchez a fort was begun, on the spot which Iberville had before chosen for a town. It was called Fort Rosalie, and a small garrison was left in it, under the order of Pailloux, in the latter part of June.

One of Crozat's ships arrived at Mobile in the fol-

lowing month, with a large supply of goods and provisions; she landed twenty passengers.

After a journey of upwards of two years, St. Denys reached Mobile, in the month of August. We have seen that he was sent in 1714 into the internal provinces of Spain, for the double purpose of finding a vent for Crozat's goods, and checking the advances of the Spaniards, who were preparing to form settlements, in the neighbourhood of Natchitoches. He had reached this place, with his Canadians and Indians, without accident. He employed them in erecting a few huts for some of the Canadians he was to leave there, and having engaged some individuals of the neighbouring tribes to join the Natchitoches, he supplied them with a few implements of husbandry, and useful seeds. Then, taking twelve chosen Canadians and a small number of Indians, he left Red river and marched westerly. After journeying for twenty days he came to a village of the Assinai, not far from the spot where Lasalle was murdered, about thirty years before. There he obtained guides, who led him one hundred and fifty leagues farther, to the easternmost settlement of the Spaniards on *Rio bravo*; it was called St. John the Baptist, or Presidiodel Norte. Don Pedro de Villeseas, who commanded there, received the French with much hospitality. St. Denys informed his host he was sent, by Lamotte Cadillac, to make arrangements for a commerce that might be equally beneficial to the Spanish and French colonists. Don Pedro said he could not do any thing, without consulting the governor of Caouis, under whose immediate orders he was. This officer resided at the distance of about one hundred and eighty miles, and on receiving a communication from Don Pedro, despatched twenty-five horsemen to bring St. Denys to him. He detained him until the beginning

of 1715, when he informed him, that he considered it his duty to send him to the viceroy. St. Denys being about to depart, wrote to his companions, whom he had left at the Presidio del Norte to return to Nat-chitoches.

Caouis is distant from Mexico about seven hundred and fifty miles, and St. Denys was conducted by an officer, attended by twenty horsemen. On his arrival in the capital, the viceroy sent him to prison. He was enlarged, after a confinement of three months, at the solicitation of several French officers, in the service of Spain. The viceroy now treated him with kindness, and made every effort in his power to induce him to enter the service of the Catholic king. Finding his endeavours useless, he made a present to St. Denys of a fine horse from his stable, supplied him with money and sent him back to Caouis, from whence he proceeded to the Presidio del Norte. Don Pedro was much affected at the removal of the Indians of five neighbouring villages, who fatigued at the vexations they experienced from the officers and soldiers of the garrison of the Presidio, had determined to seek an asylum among a distant tribe of Indians. St. Denys offered to Don Pedro to go and bring them back: he soon overtook them, as their children and baggage much retarded their march. Placing a white handkerchief on the muzzle of his musket, as soon as he perceived them, he waved it as a token of his friendly intentions; they waited his approach. He placed before them the danger they ran, in removing among Indians who were utter strangers to them, and told them he was charged by Don Pedro to assure them, that, if they would re occupy their villages, neither officers, or soldiers of the Presidio, would be suffered to enter any of them, without their consent. They agreed to return with him, and Don Pedro, who

feared that the departure of these Indians from the neighbourhood of the Presidio should be attributed to his ill conduct or neglect, was gratified by the service St. Denys had rendered him.

During the short interval he had passed before, under Don Pedro's roof, the charms of the Spaniard's daughter had made a lively impression on St. Denys, and she had appeared to reciprocate his affection. He now pressed his suit, and obtained her hand. He staid six months with her, after their nuptials, and left her pregnant, returning to Mobile, accompanied by Don Juan de Villescás, her uncle.

Lamotte Cadillac was now convinced that a commerce with the Spaniards was as impossible by land as by water; and he apprised Crozat of the inutility of any further attempt either way.

The period, for which the Superior Council of Louisiana had been established, being about to expire, the king, in the month of September, re-established it by a perpetual and irrevocable edict. It was however, new modelled, and to be composed of the governor-general and intendant of New France, the governor of Louisiana, a senior counsellor, the king's lieutenant, two puisne counsellors and an attorney-general and clerk. The edict gives to the council all the powers, exercised by the superior councils of other colonies: principally that of determining all cases, civil and criminal, in the last resort, and without costs. Its sessions are directed to be monthly, and a quorum is to consist, in civil cases of three judges, and in criminal of five. When necessary, in the absence and lawful excuse of the members, notables may be called to vacant seats. The intendant of New France, and, in his absence, the senior counsellor, is to act as president, even, in presence of the governor-general of New France, or the governor of Louisiana.



In provisional matters, fixing of seals, making inventories, &c. the senior counsellor is authorised to act as a judge of first instance.

This edict was followed on the sixteenth of November, by an ordinance relating to redemptioners and muskets; it was not confined to Louisiana. Vessels, leaving the kingdom for any of the king's American colonies, were directed to carry thither, if under sixty tons four, and if above, six redemptioners, whose period of service was fixed at three years. They were required to be able bodied, between the ages of seventeen and forty, and in size not under four feet. It was provided that the redemptioners, whom the captain might not sell, should be given by the governor to some of the planters who had not any, and who were to pay their passage.

Crozat having recommended that notwithstanding the ill success of St. Denys, in his attempt to open a trade with the Spanish provinces bordering on Louisiana, the project should not be abandoned; three Canadians, named Delery, Lafreniere and Beaulieu, were supplied with goods out of his stores, in the month of October, and proceeded by the way of Red river to the province of New Leon; and to prevent the Spaniards from occupying the country of the Natchitoches, among whom St. Denys had left a few of his countrymen, a detachment was placed under the orders of Dutisne, who was directed to build and garrison a fort, among these Indians.

Three of Crozat's ships arrived from France on the ninth of March. They brought l'Epinaï, who had been appointed governor, and Hubert commissary ordonnateur. Duclos, whom he succeeded, went in that capacity to St. Domingo. Three companies of infantry, under the orders of De Rome and Gouis.

and fifty new colonists, accompanied them, among whom were Trefontaine, Guenot, Dubrenil and Mossy.

L'Epinaï brought the cross of St. Louis to Bienville.

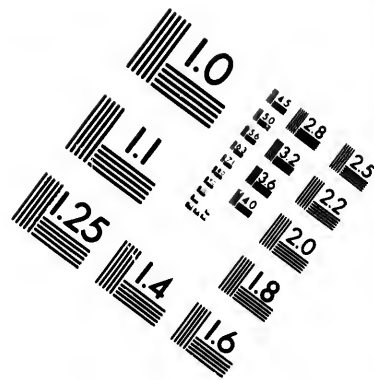
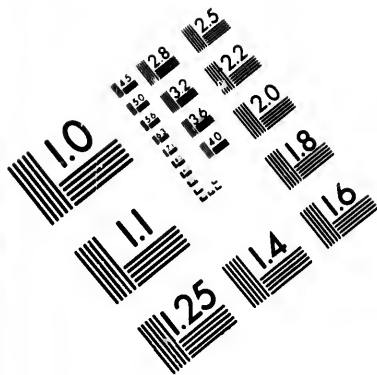
The Peacock, one of these ships, went into the bay of Ship Island, on the entrance of which they found twenty-seven feet of water; and two days after, she was unable to come out, without being unladen—the pass being entirely stopped up. After being lightened, she came out through the channel of the Island of Grand Gozier; where she found ten feet of water. This was more surprising, as since the arrival of Iberville, nineteen years before, no alteration had been noticed.

Another of the ships was sent to Havana for cattle; she went in under the pretence of distress, and was allowed three days to refit and procure provisions. She took in sixty cows; this excited surprise, and it being found they were intended for Louisiana, the captain-general insisted on forty-five of them being re-landed.

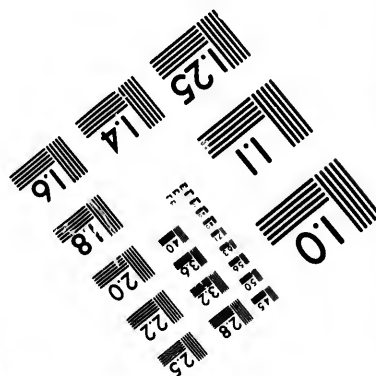
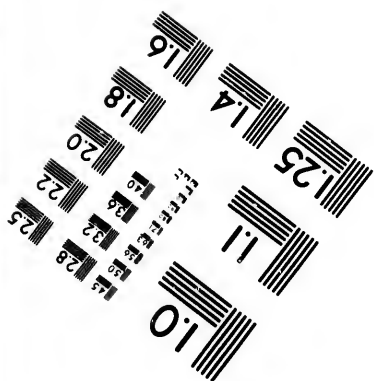
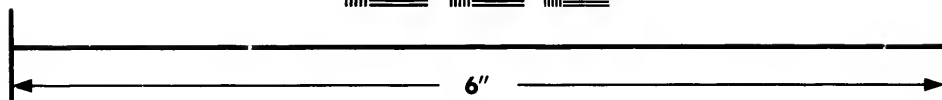
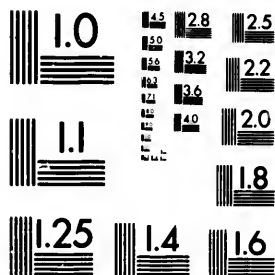
Although the services of Bienville had been rewarded by knightood, the arrival of l'Epinaï, as governor gave him great mortification. The officers of the garrison were attached to him, and observed their new chief with a jealous eye. This was the source of an unfortunate schism in the colony, which for a while checked its progress. Hubert, who was a man of business, sided with l'Epinaï, and his animosity against Bienville went so far, as to charge him with being a pensioner of Spain, bribed to check the progress of the settlement.

Crozat's agents, finding but little vent for his goods in the colony, put a considerable quantity of them on board of one of his ships, which they sent to Vera Cruz, under the impression that they might be per-



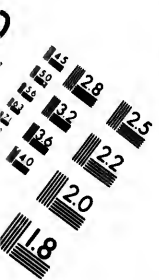


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mitted to land them: but the viceroy was found inflexible. Her cargo was worth two hundred thousand dollars, at the costs in France, and the goods had mostly been selected with the view of being sold to the Spaniards at Mexico, and Crozat had made the attempt, in the hope of providing by the sale of these goods the means of discharging large sums that were due to the troops and workmen. On the return of the ship, they were compelled to offer to these people, in discharge of their claims, articles of luxury better suited for a great city, than for a rising colony. This excited great murmurs; Crozat's exclusive privilege had grown very unpopular in Louisiana. The colonial officers, who, heretofore had carried on an interlope trade with Vera Cruz, Havana and Pensacola, viewed with jealousy his agents and the new administrators, whom he had strongly attached to his interest, by a share in the privilege.

In the month of August, Crozat disappointed in the expectations he had entertained, surrendered his grant to the king. He complained that the weakness of the colony rendered it contemptible to the Indians, whom it could not prevent from incessantly waging war among themselves, whereby no trade could safely be carried on with them; that, the British drew nigher and nigher, and confined the French to their small settlements at Mobile, Biloxi and Dauphine Island—that the land on the island, and near the other two settlements, was sandy and sterile, while the rich land on the Mississippi was open to the British, whom nothing prevented from occupying it. The surrender was accepted on the twenty-third—about five years from the date of the charter.

During this period, neither the commerce nor agriculture of the colony was increased. The troops sent by the king, and the colonists who came from

France, did not swell its population to more than seven hundred persons of all ages, sexes or colour. Two new forts were erected and garrisoned; Fort Toulouse among the Alibamons, and Fort Rosalie among the Natchez.

Arrangements having been made with three individuals, of the names of Aubert, Renet and Gayon, for the commerce of Canada, which were to expire with the current year, government determined on creating a company, capable of carrying on the commerce of Canada and Louisiana, and improving the advantages which the cultivation of the soil, in these colonies presented. This was effected a few days after the surrender of Crozat's privilege was accepted.

*Charlevoix.—Laharpe.*

## CHAPTER IX.

*Charter of the Western Company.—Card money of Canada.—Bienville, Hubert, Boisbriant.—New Leon.—Bay of St. Joseph.—New Orleans.—Large grants of Land.—New Settlers.—Richbourg, Grandval.—Accession of population.—Laharpe.—Bizart.—Desertion.—Spaniards defeated on the Missouri.—L'Archambault. St. Denys.—Bay of St. Bernard.—San Fernandez.—New Philipines.—Serigny.—War between France and England.—Pensacola taken and retaken.—Dauphine Island.—Champmeslin.—Pensacola taken again.—Superior Council and Inferior Tribunals.—A Mineralogist sent to the Illinois.—New Biloxi.—Dutisne.—Delochon.—Mine.—Union of the Western and Eastern Companies.—Proclamation fixing the price of goods and produce.—Laharpe.—Chickasaw hostilities.—Illinois.—Repeal of the edict respecting the transportation of Convicts to Louisiana.—Plague.—Father Laval.—Natchitoches.—Negroes.—Mines.—Choctaws and Alibamons.—Accession of population.—Beaumont.—Bouteux.—Laloire.—Boispinel.—Bay of St. Bernard. Head Quarters removed to New Biloxi.—Girls from the Salpetriere.—Deserters.—German Settlers.—Bellisle.—Survey of the passes of the Mississippi.—Guineaman.—Irruption of the Spaniards from Santa Fé.—Marigny de Mandeville.—D'Arensbourg.—German passengers.—Failure of Law.—Another Guineaman.*

THE charter of the new corporation was registered, in the Parliament of Paris, on the sixth of September, 1717.

It is to be distinguished by the style of the Western Company, and all the king's subjects, as well as



corporate bodies and aliens, are allowed to take shares in it.

The exclusive commerce of Louisiana is granted to it, for twenty-five years; with the right, also exclusive, of purchasing beaver skins from the inhabitants of Canada, from the first of January, 1718, until the last day of the year 1742; and, the monarch reserves to himself the faculty of settling, on information to be obtained from Canada, the number of skins the company shall be bound annually to receive from the inhabitants, and the price to be paid therefor.

All the other subjects of the king are prohibited from trading to Louisiana, under the penalty of the confiscation of their merchandize and vessels: but this is not intended to prevent the inhabitants from trading among themselves or with the Indians. It is likewise prohibited, to any but the company, to purchase, during the same period, beaver skins in Canada for exportation, under the penalty of the forfeiture of the skins, and the vessels in which they may be shipped: but, the trade in these skins in the interior is to continue as heretofore.

The land, coasts, harbours and islands, in Louisiana, are granted to the company, as they were to Crozat, it doing faith and homage to the king, and furnishing a crown of gold of the weight of thirty marks, at each mutation of the sovereignty.

It is authorised to make treaties with the Indians, and to declare and prosecute war against them in case of insult.

The property of all mines it may open and work, is granted to it, without the payment of any duty whatsoever.

The faculty is given it to grant land, even allodially, to erect forts, levy troops and recruits, even in

the kingdom, procuring the king's permission for this purpose.

It is authorised to nominate governors, and the officers commanding the troops, who are to be presented by the directors and commissioned by the king, and removable by the company. Provisional commissions may, in case of necessity, be granted, to be valid during six months, or until the royal commission arrive.

The directors and all officers are to take an oath of fidelity to the king.

Military officers in Louisiana are permitted to enter into the service of the company, and others to go there with the king's license to serve it. All, while in its service, are to preserve their respective ranks and grades in the royal land and naval forces: and the king promises to acknowledge as rendered to himself all services they may render to the company.

Power is given to fit out ships of war and cast cannon, and to appoint and remove judges and officers of justice: but the judges of the superior council are to be nominated and commissioned by the king.

All civil suits, to which the company may be a party, are to be determined by the consular jurisdiction of the city of Paris, the sentences of which under a fixed sum, are to be in the last resort: those above are to be provisorily executed notwithstanding, but without prejudice of the appeal, which is to be brought before the Parliament of Paris. Criminal jurisdiction is not to draw with it that of the civil matter.

The king promises not to grant any letter of dispensation or respite to any debtor of the company; and he assures it of the protection of his name, against any foreign nation, injuring the company.

French vessels and crews alone, are to be employed

by it, and it is to bring the produce of Louisiana, into the ports of the kingdom. All goods, in its vessels, are to be presumed its property, unless it be shewn, they were shipped with its license.

The subjects of the king, removing to Louisiana, are to preserve their national character, and their children (and those of European parents, professing the Roman Catholic religion) born there, are to be considered as natural born subjects.

During the continuance of the charter, the inhabitants of Louisiana are exempted from any tax or imposition, and the company's goods from duty.

With the view of encouraging it to build vessels in Louisiana, a gratification is to be paid on the arrival of each of them in France.

Four hundred quintals of powder are to be delivered, annually, to the company, out of the royal magazines, at cost.

The stock is divided into shares of five hundred livres each, (about one hundred dollars.) Their number is not limited; but the company is authorised to close the subscription at discretion. The shares of aliens are exempted from the *droit d'aubaine* and confiscation, in case of war.

Holders are to have a vote for every fifty shares. The affairs of the company are, during the two first years, to be managed by directors appointed by the king, and afterwards by others, appointed triennially by the stock holders.

The king gives to the company all the forts, magazines, guns, ammunitions, vessels, boats, provisions, &c., in Louisiana; with all the merchandize surrendered by Crozat.

It is to build churches and provide clergymen: Louisiana is to remain part of the diocese of Quebec. It engages to bring in, during its privilege, six thou-

sand white persons and three thousand negroes ; but it is stipulated, it shall not bring any person from another colony without the license of the governor.

Although the king had consented to redeem the card money that inundated Canada, according to the petition of the planters and merchants of that colony, in 1713, he was tardy in the performance of his engagement, and it was not till this year, that the circulation of it was stopped. At the same time, the value of coin there, was reduced to the standard of the realm ; dearly bought experience having shewn that the rise of its legal value had not a tendency to retain specie in the colony, and that the only mean of preventing the exportation of it, was the payment of whatever was imported, in the produce of the country.

On the ninth of February, 1718, three of the company's ships arrived, with as many companies of infantry and sixty-nine colonists. Boisbriant, who came in this fleet, and who was appointed king's lieutenant in the colony, was the bearer of Bienville's commission, as governor of the province ; l'Epinaï being recalled. Hubert had been made director-general of the concerns of the company in Louisiana. The troops and the inhabitants generally saw with great pleasure the chief command restored to Bienville. He had spent twenty years in the colony, and was well acquainted with its wants and resources.

The three Canadians, who had gone on a trading expedition to the province of New Leon, in 1716, returned to Mobile. They had been joined by St. Denys, and having supplied themselves with horses and mules at Natchitoches, they journeyed to a small village of the Adayes, which had but thirty warriors. Forging the river here, they came soon after to a group of about ten cabins of the Adeyches ; near which the Spaniards had a mission composed of two

friars, three soldiers and a woman. Their next stage was at Nagogdoches, where they found the same number of friars, a lay brother and a woman. The first village of the Assinais was thirty miles farther. Here they met two friars and a woman. St. Denys now parted from his companions and went ahead with a part of the goods. His companions, after journeying for twenty-five miles, reached the first presidio, garrisoned by a captain, lieutenant and twenty-five soldiers; they journeyed along, crossing two streams, about thirty miles to the last village of the Assinais, near which was a mission composed of two friars and a few soldiers. They halted seventy miles farther on the bank of the river Trinity. At nearly the same distance, they crossed a river, near which, were immense herds of buffaloes. It had two branches, on the farthest of which was an Indian village of fifty huts. The travellers found Rio Colorado, at the distance of about fifty miles. This is the stream, near the mouth of which, Lasalle built Fort Louis, which the Spaniards destroyed in 1696. Soon after crossing it, the party was attacked by about sixty Spaniards, on horse back, covered with hides, who, intimidated by its spirited conduct, fled; but, shortly after, came upon the rear of the French, and carried away a mulatto woman and three mules, one of which was loaded with a quantity of goods. The French reached, on the next day, the camp of a wandering tribe of Indians, who had erected about thirty huts and who gave them a friendly reception. After a stay of two days to rest, the party crossed on the second day the river St. Mark, and on the evening of the following, that of Guadeloupe. Forging afterwards that of St. Anthony, they stopped at the presidio of St. John the Baptist, on the western side of

Rio Bravo or Del Norte, at the distance of about six miles from the stream.

The garrison of this post consisted of a captain, lieutenant and thirty-six soldiers. The settlement was confined to a square, surrounded with mud-houses. Within this command, were the missions of St. Joseph and St. Bernard.

The French were informed here, that the goods, brought by St. Denys, had been seized, and he was gone to Mexico to solicit their release. To avoid a similar misfortune, they placed theirs in the hands of the friars, and afterwards disposed of them to merchants from Bocca de Leon. They were tarrying to receive their payment, when accounts reached the presidio, that St. Denys had been imprisoned. This induced them to depart abruptly, and make the best of their way to Mobile.

On their return they found a new mission had been established at the Adayes, under the name of San Miguel de Linarez.

The report of these people convinced the colonial government, that it would be in vain to make any further attempt towards establishing a trade with the neighbouring provinces of Spain.

Bienville, according to the last instructions he had received, despatched Chateaugué, with fifty men, to take possession of the bay of St. Joseph, between Pensacola and St. Marks. Chateaugué marked out the lines of a fort, and left Gousy to build and command it.

In the meanwhile, Bienville visited the banks of the Mississippi, in order to select a spot for the principal settlement of the province. He chose that, on which the city of New Orleans now stands, and left there fifty men to clear the ground and erect barracks.

The company had been taught, by the failure of all the plans of Crozat. that nothing was to be expected

from a trade with the Spaniards, or the search after mines of the precious metals, in Louisiana; and, that no considerable advantage could attend an exclusive trade with an extensive province, thinly peopled, unless agriculture enabled the planters to purchase, and furnish returns for, the merchandize that might be sent thither. It was imagined the culture of the soil would be best promoted by large grants (many of several miles front on the rivers) to powerful and wealthy individuals in the kingdom.

Accordingly, one was made on the Arkansas river, of twelve miles square to Law, a Scotchman, who had acquired great credit at court, by several plans of finance, which he had proposed. Others of inferior, though still very large, extent, were made—particularly one on the river of the Yazous, to a company composed of Leblanc, secretary of state, Count de Belleville, the Marquis of Assleck and Leblond, who afterwards came to Louisiana, as a general officer of the engineers: others at the Natchez, to Hubert, and a company of merchants of St. Maloes; at the Cadodaquious, above the Natchitoches, up Red river, to Benard de la Harpe; at the Tunicas, to St. Reine; at Point Coupée, to de Meuse; at the place on which now stands the town of Baton Rouge, to Diron d'Artaguet; on the right side of the Mississippi, opposite to Bayou Manchac, to Paris Duvernay; at the Tchoupitoulas, to de Muys; at the Oumas, to the Marquis d'Ancouis; at the Cannes Brulées, to the Marquis d'Artagnac; opposite to these on the right side of the river, to de Guiche, de la Honsaie and de la Houpe; at the bay of St. Louis, to Madame de Mezieres; and at the Pascagoulas, to Madame de Chaumont.

It had been stipulated with Law, that he should bring fifteen hundred persons from Germany or Pro-

vence, to settle the land granted him, on the Arkansas, and he was to maintain a small body of horse and foot for their protection. Each of the other grantees was bound to transport a number of settlers, proportioned to the extent of his grant. The company expected by these means, to fulfil the obligation imposed by the charter, to introduce six thousand white persons into the colony. Experience, however, showed that, although these large grants facilitated the transportation of settlers, little was obtained from the labours of men, brought over from a distant clime, to cultivate land, the proprietors of which staid behind.

The first accession of population, which Louisiana received in this manner, consisted of sixty men, led by Dubuisson, to occupy the land granted to Paris Duverney. They arrived in the month of April.

In June, three of the company's ships arrived; Richbourg, a knight of St. Louis, and Grandval, lately appointed major of the fort at Mobile, with a number of subaltern officers, came in these vessels. They were accompanied by Legas, an under-director, who brought thirty young men, to be employed as clerks, in the offices of the company; seventy settlers of the grant of de la Houssaie, and sixty of that of de la Houpe, with twelve companies of fifteen settlers, each of lesser grants; a number of soldiers and convicts, came also at the same time. The addition to the population of the colony by these vessels amounted to upwards of eight hundred persons.

The Spaniards complained grievously of the occupation of the bay of St. Joseph, as a military post. They had induced one half of the garrison to desert; Chateaugué was sent to bring back the remainder. The fort, being thus abandoned by the French, was immediately after occupied by the Spaniards.

The former spread themselves widely over Louisi-



iana, in the fall. Benard de la Harpe, with sixty settlers, went to take possession of his grant, at the Caddoquious, up Red river. Bizart was sent with a small detachment to the river Yazous, where he built fort St. Peter, and Boisbriant went to take the command at the Illinois. Thus the settlements of the French, in Louisiana, acquired the utmost extension from east to west, they ever had, i. e. from Fort Toulouse, on the Alibamons, to a point on Red river, beyond the present limits of the state. This circumstance weakened much the colony, and was certainly unpropitious to its progress in agriculture. Its commerce was supposed to be favoured, by pushing the settlements among distant tribes of Indians, and facilitating the collections of furs and peltries.

A number of soldiers of the garrison of Mobile, deserted this winter, and found their way by land, to the settlements of the British in South Carolina.

A large party of Spaniards from the neighbouring provinces came to the Missouri, with the view of descending and attacking the French at the Illinois. They fell on two towns of the Missouri Indians and routed the inhabitants. But, those at the mouth of the river, having timely notice of the approach of the foe, collected in vast numbers, attacked and defeated it. They made a great slaughter and tortured to death all the prisoners they took, except two friars. One of these died soon after: the other remained awhile in captivity. He had a fine horse and was very skilful in the management of it: one day as he was amusing the Indians with feats of horsemanship, he applied his spurs to the sides of the animal and effected his escape.

In the spring, l'Archambault, lately appointed director-general of the company's concerns, arrived at Mobile, with upwards of one hundred passengers.

St. Denys now returned from Mexico. He had left the presidio of St. John the Baptist, with the view of procuring the release of his goods. On his arrival, the Marquis de Valero, who had succeeded the Duke of Linarez, in the viceroyalty, had flattered him with hopes of success. But Don Martin de Alacorne, governor of the province of Texas, having heard of the passage of St. Denys through his government, without having seen him, had written to the Marquis, representing St. Denys as a suspicious character, who was claiming property that was not his own. Too ready an ear was given to the misrepresentation of Don Martin, and St. Denys was arrested and imprisoned. One month after, he obtained, from the royal audience, a decree for the release of his person and the restitution of his goods. He disposed of them to much advantage; but the person whom he employed for the collection of the proceeds, wasted them. Exasperated by his misfortune, he vented his rage in abuses of the Spaniards, and in vaunting his influence with the Indians. This indiscretion occasioned an order for his arrest; but some of his wife's relations gave him notice of it, and furnished the means of escape.

The only advantage the company derived from his excursion, was the evidence of his fidelity, and some information relating to the Spanish settlements.

The province of New Leon was thinly peopled, but rich in the gifts of nature. It had large meadows covered with cattle and vast fields highly cultivated, abounding in all kinds of grain and fruit; Monterey was its capital. Caldereto, Labradores, St. Antonio de Llanos, Linarez and Tesalve, were small open towns. The province had no mine; but the industry of its inhabitants made them sharers in the profits of their neighbours.

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The Spaniards were seeking to avail themselves of the facility, which the union of the monarchies of France and Spain under princes of the same family, offered of penetrating into the western part of Louisiana. They remembered the bay of St. Bernard, and the fort built there by Lasalle: they erected another on its ruins, in which they displayed the flag of Spain. They had called near it some wandering tribes of Indians, who, soon after, attacked by others less pacific, removed their village seventy miles farther, westerly.

The Spaniards next brought over, from the Canary Islands, a number of families, who, finding the soil, immediately on the margin of the sea, quite sterile, ascended the river San Antonio, one of those that fall into the bay of St. Bernard, and which, by the help of dykes, is made to cover and fertilize its banks. At the distance of about two hundred miles from the sea, on the border and near the source of this stream, they established the town of San Fernandez.

Another body, amounting to five hundred of these Islanders, came soon after, and proceeded to the north west. They settled among the Assinai and Abenakis; tribes remarkable for the friendly reception they had given to Lasalle. Two friars and a few soldiers had detached themselves from this little colony, to catechise the Adayes, within twenty miles from the Natchitoches, among whom several French were domiciliated.

The Spaniards called the country, they thus usurped from their neighbours, New Phillipine, in honor to the monarch of Spain, and in the hope, too, that a name, dear to the French, might lessen the irritation, which the encroachment was calculated to excite.

Two company ships arrived from France, on the twenty-ninth of April. Serigny and thirty other pas-

sengers came in them. This officer was charged with the survey of the coast of Louisiana. He brought the account of the declaration of war by France against Spain, on the ninth of January, in consequence of Philip's refusal to comply with some of the stipulations of the triple alliance.

In a council of war composed of Bienville, Hubert, L'Archambault, Legas and Serigny, the attack of Pensacola was determined on.

Bienville, with as many soldiers of the garrison as could be spared, a number of Canadians and four hundred Indians, gathered around the fort, marched by land, while Serigny, with the shipping approached the place by water. Mattamore, the Spanish governor, having but a few soldiers, surrendered it without resistance, asking as an only condition, an exemption from pillage for the inhabitants, and a passage to the Havana. Two of the company's ships went to Cuba on this service, and Chateaugué was left in command.

Experince had shewn the great fertility of the land in Louisiana, especially on the banks of the Mississippi, and its aptitude to the culture of tobacco, indigo, cotton and rice; but the labourers were very few, and many of the new comers had fallen victims to the climate. The survivors found it impossible to work in the field during the great heats of the summer, protracted through a part of the autumn. The necessity of obtaining cultivators from Africa, was apparent; the company yielding thereto, sent two of its ships to the coast of Africa, from whence they brought five hundred negroes, who were landed at Pensacola. They brought thirty recruits to the garrison.

A number of soldiers having deserted this year, and it being supposed they had gone to South Carolina, Vauchez de la Tondiere was sent to Charleston to

claim them. Governor Johnston, far from listening to the request of Bienville, sent his messenger to England; an injustice, which the indiscreet confidence of Bienville by no means justified.

In violation of the laws of war, the captain-general of the island of Cuba, seized the company's ships, which had entered the port of Havana to land the garrison of Pensacola, pursuant to one of the stipulations of the capitulation. Having manned them with sailors of his nation, and put a small land force on board, he sent them back to retake the place. They appeared before it on the fifth of August.

L'Archambault was still there; Chateaugué and he determined on a vigorous defence, in the hope of being soon succoured by Bienville and Serigny: but the confusion, which the unexpected approach of the enemy created, and the mutiny of some soldiers, excited by a few Spanish subaltern officers, who had been incautiously suffered to remain, compelled Chateaugué to surrender the next day.

Serigny, having learnt the arrival of the Spaniards, was advancing, when he heard of their success. Aware that they would not long remain idle, he hastened to Dauphine Island, and had hardly anchored, when the enemy hove in sight. Don Antonio de la Mandella, the commodore, sent a boat to summon the officer commanding the ship, in which Serigny had advanced, to an immediate surrender; threatening in case of delay, or injury to the ship, to give no quarters, and even to extend his rigour to Chateaugué and the other French prisoners, taken at Pensacola. Diouis, who commanded the shipping, sent the messenger on shore to Serigny, who received him surrounded by two hundred soldiers, and a greater number of Indians; the latter manifested anxiety and impatience to be permitted to present Serigny with the Span-

iard's scalp. He was directed to make known to Don Antonio, the determined resolution of the French to defend the shipping and island. Fifty men were sent on board of the shipping to enable them to resist the landing.

Towards the evening, one of the enemy's ships entered Mobile river, and took a boat with five men and a quantity of provisions; and on the next day, another boat laden also with provisions, going from Dauphine Island to the fort at Mobile, was captured.

In the meanwhile, Bienville reached Dauphine Island, with a large body of Indians, and the Spaniards were repulsed in their attempt to land. Nineteen of their men were killed or drowned. Eighteen French deserters were taken by the Indians: seventeen of them were shot at Mobile, and the other hung on the island.

It appearing impracticable to prevent the enemy from entering Mobile river, it was determined no longer to attempt sending provisions to the fort. Every effort was directed to the protection of the island. The Spaniards did not attempt any thing till the eighteenth, when two ships were discovered coming from Pensacola. They hovered around the island the two following days, and Serigny employed this time in erecting batteries near the places in which a landing was most to be apprehended. On the twenty-first, the enemy approached the western end of the island, and exchanged a few shots with a French ship, supported by a battery. They next moved to Point Guidery, at the eastern end of the settlement. Serigny ordered Trudeau, a Canadian officer, to take as many Indians as he could, and oppose the landing. About one hundred Spaniards came on shore; but Trudeau, approaching with twelve Indians only, they were so alarmed at the

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yells and shrieks of those allies of the French, that they retreated in much confusion. Ten of their men were killed or drowned.

On the next day, the enemy succeeded in effecting a second landing at the same place, but the only advantage it procured was a supply of water, obtained before the force sent by Serigny to drive them back arrived. On the same day the garrison was reinforced by sixty Indians from Mobile ; at night the barracks were consumed by an accidental fire.

Shots were again exchanged the next morning by a Spanish and a French ship under a battery. The former sailed off on the following day, after firing a few broad-sides at the houses. The rest of the fleet, departing one after the other, were all out of sight on the twenty-eighth.

Three ships of the line, under the orders of the Count de Champmeslin, escorting two company ships, hove in sight on the first of September. The garrison were greatly alarmed, mistaking them for a fleet from Vera Cruz, which, it had been reported, was coming to prosecute the success of the Spanish arms, and reduce the whole province of Louisiana.

Villardo, a new director, with two hundred passengers, arrived with Champmeslin.

A council of war was held on board of the Count's ship, in which it was determined to attack Pensacola. Two hundred soldiers were accordingly taken on board of the fleet, and the anchors were weighed on the fifteenth. Bienville sat off at the same time from Mobile, by land, with the same number of soldiers and about one hundred Indians ; those on Dauphine Island having gone in the fleet. Having invested the fort, he hoisted a white flag, a signal preconcerted with Champmeslin, who immediately brought the naval force into the harbour. The main fort did

not fire a single gun; the small one was defended for a couple of hours. The shipping made a brisk but unsuccessful resistance. The Indians were allowed to pillage the main fort; but were prevented from scalping any one.

When the Spanish commodore presented his sword to Champmeslin, the latter immediately girt it on him, saying he deserved to wear it. The commander of the land forces was treated in a different manner; Champmeslin ordered a common sailor to receive his sword, and reprimanded the Spaniard for his want of courage; saying he did not deserve to serve his king.

The Spaniards lost many men, the French six only. The number of prisoners made was eighteen hundred.

The hope had been entertained that a large supply of provisions and ammunition would have been found in the forts; but it turned out they had provisions for a fortnight only. The discovery induced Champmeslin to hasten the departure of his prisoners. The officer, who carried them to Havana, was directed to bring back all the French prisoners there, and in order to insure their return, the field officers lately taken were detained as hostages.

A brig laden with corn, flour and brandy, sent from Havana to supply the fleet, which was expected from Vera Cruz, entered the harbour of Pensacola on the twenty-eighth, having mistaken the shipping in it for that of her nation. Her captain reported that, when he sailed, it was confidently believed in the island of Cuba, that the Spanish flag was flying in every fort of Louisiana.

Early in October, a brig from Vera Cruz arrived with six hundred sacks of flour, and afterwards a smaller vessel from the same port. They were both de-



ceived by the Spanish flag, which was kept flying over the forts, for this purpose.

The French fleet sailed on the twenty-third; Delisle, a lieutenant of the king's ships, was left in command at Pensacola. Of forty deserters, who were found with the Spaniards, twelve were hung on board of the ships: the others were condemned to hard labour for the benefit of the company.

The directors in France having drawn the attention of the king, to the alterations which the new order of things required in the organization of the superior council of Louisiana, this tribunal had been new modelled; and by an edict of the month of September it had been ordered that it should be composed of such directors of the company, as might be in the province, the commandant-general, a senior counsellor, the king's two lieutenants, three other counsellors, an attorney-general and a clerk.

The *quorum* was fixed at three members in civil, and five in criminal, cases. Those present were authorised to call in some of the most notable inhabitants, to form a *quorum*, in case of the absence or legitimate excuse of the others. Judgments, in original, as in appellate cases, were to be in the last resort, and without costs. The sessions were to be monthly.

Hitherto the council had been the sole tribunal in the colony. The suitors had no other to which they could resort. The increasing extension of the population demanded that judges should be dispersed in the several parts of the province. The directors of the company, or its agents in the distant parts, with two of the most notable inhabitants of the neighbourhood, in civil, and four in criminal cases, were constituted inferior tribunals. Their judgments, though subject to an appeal to the superior council, were car-

ried into immediate but provisional execution, notwithstanding, but without prejudice to, the appeal.

The gentlemen who composed the first superior council under this edict, were Bienville, as commandant-general, Hubert, as senior counsellor, Boisbriant and Chateaugué, as the king's lieutenants, L'Archambault, Villardo and Legas, as puisne counsellors; Cartier de Baune was the attorney-general, and Couverture the clerk.

Although the commandant-general occupied the first seat in the council, the senior counsellor performed the functions of president of that tribunal. He collected the votes and pronounced the judgments: and in provisory instances, as the affixing of seals, inventories and the like, the duties of a judge of the first instance were discharged by him.

The hope of acquiring riches, by the discovery of mines, had not yielded to the experience of upwards of twenty years; and the people of the Illinois thought their country possessed valuable ores, and their time was more engrossed by search after them than the tillage of the earth. On their application, an engineer, who was supposed to be skilled in mineralogy, was sent late in the fall to that distant part of the colony.

The desire of Bienville to remove the seat of government, and the head quarters of the troops, to the spot he had selected on the Mississippi for a city, was opposed by the other military officers, by Hubert and the directors of the company's concerns. An extraordinary rise of the Mississippi, this year, seemed to present an insuperable obstacle to his project: as the colony did not possess the means of raising at once the dykes or levees necessary to protect the place from the inundation of the stream, the idea was for the present abandoned. Hubert thought the

chief establishment of the province should be in the country of the Natchez: but, as he had obtained a large grant of land there, his predilection for this part of the country was attributed to private motives, and he found no adherent. L'Archebault, Villardo and Legas, whose views were more commercial than agricultural, joined in the opinion to remove the seat of government to a spot on the sea shore, on the east side of the bay of Biloxi. This opinion prevailed; and Valdelure led there a detachment to be employed in erecting houses and barracks. The place was afterwards known as the New Biloxi.

Dutisue, who had been sent to explore the country of the Missouri, Osages and Panoucas, now returned, and made a report to Bienville.

He had ascended the Mississippi as far as the *bayou des Salines*, which is six miles from the Kaskaskias, and ninety from the Missouri. He afterwards travelled through stony hills well timbered, crossing several streams which flow into the Missouri. He reckoned there were three hundred and fifty miles from the salines to the principal village of the Osages, which stood on a hill, at the distance of five miles from the river of this name. It contained about one hundred cabins, and nearly double that number of warriors. These Indians spent but a small part of the year in their villages, hunting to a great distance through the woods, during the other part. About one hundred and twenty miles from the Osages, in a prairie country, abounding with buffaloes, he found the first village of the Panionkes, which had one hundred and thirty cabins, and he estimated the number of their warriors at two hundred and fifty. They had another village, nearly of the same size, about four miles further. There were near these two villages above three hundred horses, which these Indians appeared

to prize much. The Pawonees were at the distance of four hundred and fifty miles. There was a saline of rock salt at about fifty miles from the Panoussas.

He had noticed mines of lead and ores of other metals, near the villages of the Osages. The villages of the Missouris were at the distance of three hundred and fifty yards from the mouth of the river, which bears their name, and those of the Osages, about ninety miles farther.

He formally took possession of the countries of these Indians, in the name of the king, and erected posts with his arms, in testimonial of it.

Delochon, a gentleman who had been recommended by the directors for his skill in mineralogy, had been sent to the Marameg, a river that falls into the Mississippi, a little above the Missouri, and on the same side. He obtained some ore, at a place pointed out by the Indians, and asserted, that a pound of it had produced two penny weights of silver. On his return to Mobile, he had been sent back with a number of workmen; and the process being repeated on a very large scale, a few thousand pounds of very inferior lead were obtained. It was believed he had been guilty of a gross imposition.

Accounts were received from Europe that the western and the eastern companies had been united: the aggregate body preserving the name of the former. The new directors sent positive orders to Bienville to remove the head quarters of the colony to Biloxi: an unfortunate step, as the land there is a barren soil, absolutely incapable of culture; the anchorage unsafe, and the coast of difficult access.

The directors sent for publication in the province, a proclamation of theirs, notifying the prices, at which goods were to be obtained in the company's stores at Mobile, Dauphine Island and Pensacola. To these

prices an advance of five per cent. was to be added on goods delivered at New Orleans, ten at the Natchez, thirteen at the Yazous, twenty at Natchitoches, and fifty at the Illinois and on the Missouri.

The produce of the country was to be received in the company's warehouses in New Orleans, Biloxi, Ship Island and Mobile at the following rates. Silk, according to quality, from one dollar and fifty cents to two dollars the pound; tobacco of the best kind, five dollars the hundred, rice four, superfine flour three, wheat two dollars; barley and oats ninety cents the hundred weight; deer skins, from fifteen to twenty five; dressed, without head or tail, thirty; hides eight cents the pound.

In the beginning of the year, de la Harpe arrived from Red river. He had established a post at the Cadodaquious, and explored the country around.

Having ascended Red river, as far as the Natchitoches, with fifty men, in two boats and three pirogues, he found Blondel in command at the fort. Father Manuel, a friar of the Spanish mission of the Adayes, had come on a visit. On an island near the fort, were about two hundred individuals of the Natchitoches, Dulcinoes and Yatassee tribes.

Don Martin de Alacorne, governor of the province of Texas, had lately gone to Rio del Norte, after having established several missions, and built a fort on a bay, which he called del Spiritu Santo, near the rivers Guadaloupe and St. Mark; and was expected to return and establish a mission at the Cadodaquious. Laharpe, anxious to pre-occupy the ground, left the fort of Natchitoches and ascended Red river to the Nassonites, who dwelt at the distance of four hundred and fifty miles. The Indians, in these parts, the Cadodaquious and Yatassee, apprised of his approach, had prepared an entertainment, to which they

invited him and his officers. Large quantities of smoked beef and fish had been provided. A profound silence prevailed; the Indians deeming it uncivil to address their guests, till they are perfectly at rest or begin the conversation; Laharpe waited till his hosts had satisfied their appetites, and then informed them, through his interpreter, that the great chief of the French on the Mississippi, of whose mind he was the bearer, apprised of the war the Chickasaws waged against them, had sent him and some other warriors, to dwell in their country, and protect them against their enemies.

An old Cadodaquion now rose and observed the time was now come for them to change their mournful mood for scenes of joy: several of his countrymen had been killed, and others made prisoners; so that his nation was greatly reduced; but the arrival of the French was about to prevent its utter destruction. He concluded they should return thanks to the great spirit, whose wrath was no doubt appeased, and yield every possible assistance to the French, as his nation well knew that the Naoudishes and other wandering tribes had given them peace since the arrival of some of the French, under Lasalle.

Laharpe, desiring information as to the nearest Spanish settlements, and the neighbouring tribes of Indians, was apprised that southerly, at the distance of thirty miles, were the Assinaiis, and one hundred and twenty miles from these the Nadocoës. The Spaniards had lately sent friars and soldiers among these two tribes, whose villages could not be approached by land, except in the lowest waters; as a river was to be crossed, which, in the wet season, inundated the country to a large extent. At the distance of one hundred and eighty miles, on the left side of the river, were wandering tribes of Indians,

who were at war with the Cadays, in the neighbourhood of whom the Spaniards had a mission.

Laharpe purchased the cabin of one of the chiefs, near the river and *on* the left side of it. The country was flat; but at the distance of one or two miles from the river, *were* bluffs, and behind these wide prairies. The soil was black, though sandy, and along the stream very suitable to the cultivation of tobacco, indigo, cotton, corn and other grains. The Indians said they sowed corn in April, and gathered it in July. The most common trees were the copalm, willow, elm, red and white oak, laurel and plum. The woods abounded in vines, and the prairies were full of strawberries, cranberries and wild purslain.

Laharpe employed his men at first in erecting a large and strong blockhouse, in which he was assisted by the Indians. By repeated observations, he found it in latitude 33. 35. and he reckoned it was distant, in a straight way from the fort of Natchitoches, two hundred and fifty miles.

Don Martin de Alacorne having in the mean while returned to the neighbourhood, Laharpe despatched a corporal of his garrison, who spoke the language of several tribes of Indians, with a letter, soliciting Don Martin's friendship and correspondence, and tendering any service in his power; informing him he had it in charge to seek every opportunity of opening a trade with the Spaniards. Laharpe, at the same time addressed Father Marsello, the superior of the missionaries in the province of Texas, begging his friendship, and offering a correspondence, advantageous to the mission—observing, the conversion of the Indians ought to engage the attention of all good christians; and as some assistance might be useful, in enabling his reverence successfully to preach the gospel in these parts, and enlist the Indians under the banner

of the cross, he suggested the father should write to his friends in Mexico and Bocca de Leon, that they would find, at Natchitoches and the Nassouites, any kind of European goods they might have occasion for, on very good terms. He concluded by assuring the holy man, he would be allowed a handsome commission on any sale effected through his aid.

By the return of the corporal, Don Martin reciprocated Laharpe's offers of service; but expressed his surprise at the occupation by the French, of a territory, which he observed made a part of the viceroyalty of Mexico. He requested Laharpe, to make it known to his chief, that the necessity of using force to remove the detachment might be averted.

The father's reply was of a different cast. He wrote that, as the proposed correspondence was tendered on principles of religion, charity and esteem, he cheerfully accepted it, and would apprise his friends of Laharpe's arrival and views. He added, that, as it did not become the clergy to be concerned in trade, he had to request the correspondence might be kept secret; especially as he was not on very good terms with Don Martin, who, he intimated, would probably be soon removed.

Laharpe expressed to the latter, he was astonished at the assertion, that the post, just occupied by the French, was within the government of Mexico, as he and his countrymen had always considered the whole country, which the Spaniards called the province of Texas, as part of Louisiana, of which Lasalle had taken possession thirty-six years before. He added, he had never understood till now, that the pretensions of Spain had ever been extended to the east of Rio Bravo; all the rivers, flowing into the Mississippi being the property of France, with all the country they watered.



There was at the distance of thirty miles to the northwest of the spot occupied by the French, a salt spring, from which they obtained four hundred weight of salt.

A Dulcino Indian, coming from Natchitoches, informed the Nassonites, the French were at war with the Spaniards, and the Natchitoches were desirous to be joined by the Nassonites, to assist the French. These Indians replied they would not join in any act of hostility; but they would defend the French, if they were attacked.

Moulet and Durivage, two officers of Laharpe's detachment, having gone on a journey of discovery, met, at the distance of one hundred and eighty miles from the Nassonites, on Red river, parts of several wandering tribes, by whom they were well received. These Indians had lately destroyed part of the Causey nation, who had eleven villages on the head of that river, near which the Spaniards had a settlement and worked mines. In high water, the villages were accessible by the river. Presents were made by the two Frenchmen to these Indians, whom they endeavoured to induce to remove to the neighbourhood of the Nassonites, to settle in villages and plant corn. They were about two thousand—had no permanent residence; but went out in large parties, erecting huts, in the shape of a dome, and covered with hides.

On the return of these officers, Laharpe, finding his post had nothing to apprehend, made with two others, half a dozen soldiers and a few Indians, an excursion to the northeast. He loaded eleven horses, with goods and provisions, and journeyed to the Washitas and Arkansas. He met with a friendly reception from these Indians, and entered into alliance with them. He took possession of their country.

in the name of his sovereign, and in token of it erected posts with the escutcheon of France. Having disposed of his goods, on very advantageous terms, he floated down the Arkansas river to the Mississippi, and reached Biloxi through Bayou Manchac and the lakes.

The Chickasaws, excited by the British in South Carolina, began a war against the French colonists. The first act of hostility was the murder of Sorvidal, an officer whom Bienville had sent among these Indians. This circumstance rendered an increase of population quite welcome. A fleet, commanded by commodore Saugeon, in the month of February, brought five hundred and eighty-two passengers, among whom, were a number of females from the hospital-general of Paris.

The settlement at the Illinois began to thrive, many families having come thither from Canada; and Boisbriant, who commanded there, removed its principal establishment to the bank of the Mississippi, twenty-five miles below the Kaskaskia village.

The company having represented to the king, that the planters of Louisiana had been enabled by the introduction of a great number of negroes, to clear and cultivate large tracts of land, and that there had been a great migration of his subjects and foreigners, who had been employed in the tillage of the ground; so that, the planters found it no longer their interest to employ vagabonds or convicts; as these people were idle and dissolute, and less disposed to labour than to corrupt the poorer white inhabitants, the negroes and Indians, the transportation of vagabonds and convicts, to Louisiana, was forbidden by an arrest of the king's council, of the ninth of May.

Two line of battle ships came in the latter part of June, from Toulon. They were in great distress:

Caffaro, the commodore, and most of their crews had fallen victims to the plague, which some sailors in these ships, who had come from Marseilles, had communicated to the others: that city being ravaged by pestilence, brought there by a ship from Seyde, in the Levant. Father Laval, a Jesuit, royal professor of hydrography in the college of Toulon, had, by the king's order, taken passage on board of this fleet, with directions to make astronomical observations in Louisiana. The chaplains of the ships having died, the father, considering science an object of minor consideration to a minister of the altar, thought it his duty to bestow all his time in administering spiritual relief to the sick, who for a long time, were very numerous, and he sailed back with the ships.

The settlement of Natchitoches was now in a prosperous situation, though weakened by the migration of some of the settlers, who had gone northerly in the hope of enriching themselves, by a trade with the Spaniards. This chimerical hope prevented attention to the culture of the land. Bienville now received the king's order, to send St. Denys to command there, and Chateaugué, who had gone to France from Havana, came in these ships, with the appointment of king's lieutenant in Louisiana, and succeeded St. Denys, in the command of the fort at Mobile. He had, on his way back, touched at the Havana, from whence he brought the French prisoners taken at Pensacola.

One of the company's ships arrived from the coast of Africa, and landed five hundred negroes.

The ill success which had attended every attempt to work the mines that had been discovered in Louisiana, was attributed to the want of skill, in those who had been employed, rather than to the poverty of the ore, and the colonial government received orders to

engage Don Antonio, a Spaniard, who had been taken at Pensacola, and said he had worked in the mines of Mexico. The hope of obtaining gold from Louisiana could not be easily abandoned in France; the Spaniard was sent up at a great expense, but did not succeed better than Lochon.

In the meanwhile, Bienville exerted himself, to induce his red allies to attack the Chickasaws. He met with considerable difficulty. Part of the Choctaws had been gained by the British: the Alibamons complained that the French allowed them less for their skins, than their rivals at Charleston, and sold their goods much dearer. He at last succeeded with the Choctaws, and obtained a promise of neutrality from the Alibamons, and a passage for his men through their country. Pailloux was instructed to secure the aid of the Natchez and Yazous.

The colony received a very large increase of population, during the summer and fall. A company ship brought sixty settlers of the grant of St. Catherine, under the order of Beaumanoir, into the country of the Natchez. They were followed by two hundred and fifty others, under the orders of Bouteux. Delonne, who had lately been appointed director-general, landed at Mobile with a company of infantry, sixty settlers of the grant of Guiche, and one hundred and fifty of that of St. Reine. In another ship, Latour, a brigadier general of engineers, and a knight of St. Louis, accompanied by Pauge, led fifty workmen, and Boispinel and Chaville, two officers of the same corps, arrived soon after, with two hundred and fifty settlers, of the grant of Leblanc and his associates.

The plan of settling the bay of St. Bernard, on the west of the Mississippi, was still a favorite object in France, and Bienville received, by these vessels, the

instructions of the directors of the company, to begin an establishment there immediately. They expressed their apprehension, that his delay might defeat their plans, and the bay be occupied by the Spaniards; and, lest their injunction might be overlooked, they had procured the king's special order to Bienville, for that purpose. This project was viewed in a different light in Louisiana; the great distance from the other settlements, which were already too sparse; the shallowness of the water near the coast, which prevented large vessels from approaching, the barrenness of the country, the difficulty of protecting, and even communicating with, it, the small means of defence, the colonial government had at command, and the thin population of the province, appeared to forbid the extension of settlements to the west of the Mississippi. None of the colonial officers entertained a different opinion.

The same unanimity did not prevail on a more important question. It was proposed, in a council of war to which the officers of engineers, lately arrived from France, assisted, in the month of November, to remove the head quarters to the New Biloxi; a measure which was adopted, notwithstanding the opposition of Bienville and Hubert. These two administrators did not agree as to the place of removal.

Bienville objected to an immediate removal. He thought it would occasion considerable damage to the individuals, who had built at the present place, without any prospect of public or private advantage.

He thought, however, that if a removal was determined upon, New Orleans was the most proper place.

Hubert disapproved also of a removal. His opinion was, that New Orleans would answer only as a place of deposit; that the spot, on which the city of Natchez now stands, was the most proper site for the

capital of the province, and would ere long become its centre.

He felt so confident, in his hope of being able to induce the directors to adopt his plan, that a few days after, he sailed for France for this purpose: but he died shortly after his landing. He had obtained the grant of an immense tract on St. Catherine's Creek, on which he had made a large plantation with considerable improvements. This circumstance was some evidence, that he considered this part of the province as that which presented the greatest advantage; but his opponents in the council, grounded on it a suggestion, that his vote was influenced by private interest.

Time has shown, that Bienville's view of the subject was the best. The sandy coast of Biloxi, distant from fertile land, difficult of approach for vessels of burden, and without a safe anchorage, offered so many disadvantages, that it is difficult to surmise, on what ground it became the choice of the majority. It presents nothing to the view, but interminable heaps of sand, interspersed with lagoons, and a growth of scattered stunted shrubs. The city of Natchez, after more than a century, has not as yet risen beyond the rank of a smart village. It will in time become the centre of trade, in a circle of a considerable radius; but distant from the sea four hundred miles, and, if time be the measure of distance, situated in those days, further from the Balize than Bourdeaux by water, it could have afforded but little protection to the intermediate places between the sea and the settlements at Biloxi or Mobile.

Hubert's views were premature by several centuries. Had the French remained in possession of the whole province of Louisiana, with the extent it then had, no doubt, in the course of time, the spot on

which the city of Natchez stands, might have become the centre of the population of the colony.

The majority was probably influenced by the commercial agents of the company, who viewed New Biloxi, as the spot from which their store keepers at Mobile, Pensacola, Ship Island and the old Biloxi, might be more conveniently watched.

Bienville complained, that these gentlemen thwarted his views, and prevented the company from reaping the benefit from his exertions, which they were calculated to produce.

A company ship arrived on the third of January, 1721, with three hundred settlers of the grant of Madame Chaumont, on Pascagoula river, and another landed in the following month, eighty girls from the Salpetriere, a house of correction in Paris, with one hundred other passengers. It seems the late order of council, prohibiting the transportation of vagabonds and convicts, was not considered as extending to females.

In their despatches to Bienville, by these ships, the directors expressed their grief, at the division which existed between him and their principal agents in Louisiana, by which the affairs of the company had been brought to such a situation, that it would be preferable, that the establishment had now to be begun. The report of the unfortunate condition of their concerns had excited great murmurs in France, and the direction was daily reproached for the immense expenses it had incurred: it was charged with having appointed chiefs too careless of the affairs of the company, and too careful of their own. That the regent, who was informed of the discredit, in which the stock of the company had fallen, so far from keeping the promise he had made of promoting him to the rank of a brigadier, and sending him the

broad ribbon of the order of St. Louis, would have proceeded against him with severity, if he had not been informed that the company's agents in the colony, had thwarted his views; that the directors flattered themselves, that by sending out new agents, and the new arrangements that were about to be made, the state of things would be changed, and the regent become sensible of his merit; that his royal highness had told them, the king's graces were bestowed on effective services only, and as it was suggested, that he (Bienville) might now merit them, it was proper to wait till he might prove himself worthy of them.

The directors, while they assured Bienville they would foster the regent's good dispositions towards him, did not conceal their disapprobation of the promotion he had made of some non-commissioned officers. They instructed him, for the future to exercise the right of suspension only, and leave to them that of removal and appointment. They recommended to him to correspond with the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general of New France, and to exert himself to induce his Indian allies to declare themselves against the Sioux, whom the Foxes had engaged in their interest.

The fort at Kaskaskias was ordered by the company to be called Fort Chartres; that of Mobile, Fort Conde, and that of Biloxi, Fort St. Louis.

Orders were given to Pauger, to make a survey of the bay of Mobile, and the entrance of the Mississippi.

Two hundred German settlers of Law's grant were landed in the month of March at Biloxi, out of twelve hundred who had been recruited. The rest had died before they embarked, or on the passage. They were followed by five hundred negroes from the coast



of Africa. This increase of population was rendered less welcome by the great dearth of provisions under which the colony laboured.

Bienville despatched a vessel to St. Domingo for a supply. He employed for this service, Beranger, who had lately arrived from Havana, where he had conveyed the Spanish hostages.

There came among the German new comers, a female adventurer. She had been attached to the wardrobe of the wife of the Czarowitz Alexius Petrovitz, the only son of Peter the Great. She imposed on the credulity of many persons, but particularly on that of an officer of the garrison of Mobile, (called by Bossu, the Chevalier d'Aubant, and by the king of Prussia, Maldeck) who having seen the princess at St. Petersburg, imagined he recognized her features in those of her former servant, and gave credit to the report which prevailed, that she was the duke of Wolfenbuttle's daughter, whom the Czarowitz had married, and who, finding herself treated with great cruelty by her husband, caused it to be circulated that she had died, while she fled to a distant seat, driven by the blows he had inflicted on her—that the Czarowitz had given orders for her private burial, and she had travelled incog into France, and had taken passage at L'Orient in one of the company's ships among the German settlers.

Her story gained credit, and the officer married her. After a long residence in Louisiana, she followed him to Paris and the island of Bourbon, where he had a commission of major. Having become a widow in 1754, she returned to Paris, with a daughter, and went thence to Brunswick, when her imposture was discovered; charity was bestowed on her, but she was ordered to leave the country. She died in 1771, at Paris, in great poverty.

A similar imposition was practised for a while with considerable success, in the southern British provinces, a few years before the declaration of their independence. A female, driven for her misconduct from the service of a maid of honor of princess Matilda, sister to George III. was convicted at the Old Bailey, and transported to Maryland. She effected her escape before the expiration of her time, and travelled through Virginia and both the Carolinas, personating the princess, and levying contributions on the credulity of planters and merchants; and even some of the king's officers. She was at last arrested in Charleston, prosecuted and whipped.

A company ship had sailed for Louisiana in 1718, with troops, and one hundred convicts, and had never been heard of. It was now discovered that, like the fleet of Lasalle, she had missed the Mississippi, and had been driven to the west. Her commander had mistaken the island of Cuba for that of St. Domingo, and had been compelled to pass through the old channel to get into the gulf. He made a large bay, in the twenty-ninth degree of latitude, and discovering he had lost his way, wandered for several days. His misfortune was increased by a contagious disease breaking out among the convicts. Five of his officers, Belleisle, Allard, Delisle, Legendre and Corlat, thought it less dangerous to land, with provisions for eight days and their arms, than to continue on board. They hoped to meet some Indian, who might guide them to the settlements of the French; they were disappointed. All, except Belleisle, fell victims to hunger and fatigue: after burying the last of his companions, he wandered for several weeks on the shore, living on shell fish and roots. At last, he fell in with three Indians who stripped him, and led him a prisoner to their village, in which he was detained for eigh-

teen months; he suffered much from hunger, fatigue, and the cruelty of his captors. At last, one of the latter stole a small tin box, in which Bellisle kept his commission and some other papers. It was purchased by an Indian of the Assinai tribe, and accidentally shewn to St. Denys, who prevailed on some of them to go and contract for Bellisle's ransom. He was thus released, and found his way to Natchitoches, where, after staying a while to recover his strength, he was furnished the means of reaching Biloxi.

Pauger, having completed the survey of the passes of the Mississippi, returned and made his report to Bienville. He found the bar a deposit of mud, about three hundred feet wide, and about twice that in length. It appeared to him it was occasioned by the current of the river and the flux of the sea which, greatly obstructing the current, caused the river to overflow. He took notice that the stream, being very muddy, left on its shores and islands, heaps of timber, covered by annual layers of mud; the smaller timber filling up the interstices. In this manner, islands, and new land along the shore, were incessantly formed; and after a few years, canes and willows began to rise on the crust formed by several layers. He expressed his opinion, that with little trouble, by giving a proper direction to the floating timber, dykes might be formed along one of the channels, and by sinking old vessels, so as to stop the others; the velocity of the water might be increased in the former, and a very great depth obtained in time; an operation which he said was now forming in some parts of the passes—one of which he had noticed the preceding year, when he found on it but ten or eleven feet of water, and eight months after, from thirteen to fourteen; while a bar had extended to the island of the Balize, which was one hundred and eighteen feet in

width, and double that in length with an eminence in the middle, before which ships might ride in eighteen feet of water.

In the spring, a Guineaman landed two hundred and ninety negroes, and reported that another had caught fire, at the distance of sixty leagues from the shore: part of the crew had saved themselves in the long boat, the rest perished.

Accounts were received from the Illinois that a party of three hundred Spaniards had marched from Santa Fe to the upper part of the province, while they expected a fleet would attack it on the shore. Seventy of them only had persevered in the attempt, guided by Padouca Indians, who directed them so north-erly, that they reached the river of the Canseys near the Missouri, where they fell among Indians, allies of the French, who destroyed them all, except their chief, the swiftness of whose horse secured his safety.

On the fourth of June, two hundred and fifty passengers, chiefly Germans, came in a company ship, Marigay de Mandeville, who had gone to France, where he had obtained the cross of St. Louis and the command of Fort Coade, returned in her, accompanied by d'Arensbourg, a Swedish officer, and three others.

By this vessel, the colonists learnt the failure and sudden departure from France of the celebrated Law. This gave room to the apprehension, that the settlement of the province might be abandoned or prosecuted with less vigour.

Another Guineaman landed three hundred negroes a few days after.

John Law, of Lauriston, in North Britain, was a celebrated financier, who having gained the confidence of the Duke of Orleans, regent of France, settled at Paris: where, under the auspices of govern-

ment, he established a bank, with a capital of twelve hundred thousand dollars. Soon after, government became largely interested in it, and it assumed the name of the Royal Bank. The original projector continued at the head of its affairs, and, availing himself of the thirst for speculation, which its success excited, formed the scheme of a large commercial company, to which it was intended to transfer all the privileges, possessions and effects of the foreign trading companies, that had been incorporated in France. The royal bank was to be attached to it. The regent gave it letters patent, under the style of the Western Company. From the mighty stream, that traverses Louisiana, Law's undertaking was called the Mississippi scheme. The exclusive trade to China and all the east Indies was afterwards granted to the company now called the India Company. Chancellor d'Aguesseau opposed the plan with so much earnestness, that the regent took the seals from him and exiled him to his estate.

The stockholders flattered themselves, that the vast quantity of land, and the valuable property the company possessed, would enable it to make profits far exceeding those of the most successful adventurers. Accordingly, the directors declared a dividend of two hundred per cent. The delusion was so complete, that the stock rose to sixty times its original cost. The notes of the bank took the place of the paper securities government had issued, and so great was the demand for them, that all the metallic medium was paid into the bank.

*Charlevoix.—Luharpe.—Vergennes.—Dupratz.*

## CHAPTER X.

*Duvergier.—Benard de Laharpe.—Bay of St. Bernard.—De Masilliere, Dudemaine and Duplesne.—A Guinea-man.—Principal establishment ordered to be removed to New Orleans.—Survey of the river of the Arkansas.—The Marquis de Gallo.—Chickasaw hostilities.—Father Charlevoix.—Toulouse Island.—Loubois.—Latour.—Price of Negroes, Tobacco and Rice fixed.—Copper coinage.—Military, Civil and Religious divisions of the Province.—Larenaudiere—German Coast.—Peace with Spain.—Pensacola restored.—Chickasaw hostilities among the Yazous.—Fort on the Missouri.—Capuchins.—A hurricane.—Hostilities committed by the Natchez.—An unexpected crop of rice.—The directors remove to New Orleans.—A Swiss company deserts to Charleston.—Large grants of land.—Indigo.—St. Joseph abandoned.—Spanish force in the province of Texas.—The Choctaws defeat the Chickasaws.—Alterations in the value of coin.—Jesuits.—The Catholic, the only religion tolerated.—Expulsion of the Jews.—Black Code.—Edict relating to correspondence.—Edict relating to horses and cattle.—De la Chaise and Perrault.—Philip V. abdicates the throne.—Louis ascends it and dies.—Philip resumes the crown.—Superior Council. Treaties with the Jesuits, Capuchins and Ursuline Nuns. Perrier.—George II.—Girls de la Casette.—Improvements in New Orleans.—Land regulations.*

ON the fifteenth of July, Duvergier, who had lately been appointed Director, Ordonnateur, Commandant of the Marine and President of the Council, landed at Pensacola. He brought crosses of St. Louis for Boisbriant, Chateaugué and St. Denys.

The Company, more intent on extending than improving its possessions in Louisiana, had determined, notwithstanding the unanimous representations of Bienville and all the colonial officers, to have an establishment on the gulf to the west of the Mississippi. For this purpose Bernard de la Harpe came over with Duvergier, having been appointed Commandant and inspector of commerce at the bay of St. Bernard. Masilliere, administrator of the grant of the Marquis de Mezieres, Desmarches, Dudemaine and Duplesne, his associates accompanied him.

The arrival of Duvergier with such ample powers gave much uneasiness to Bienville, who, while he remained in command, could not brook to be excluded from the presidency of the council. Chateaugué, who had the rank of a captain in the royal navy, thought himself injured by the command of the navy being given to another, and Delorme imagined his pretensions to the office of Ordonnateur had been overlooked.

Three hundred negroes arrived from Africa on the 15th of August.

The occupation of the bay of St. Bernard, notwithstanding the positive orders of which Laharpe was the bearer, was still viewed in Louisiana as a premature operation, attended with considerable and useless expense, requiring a number of men, who could not well be spared, and promising, if any, none but very precarious and distant advantages. The difficulty of protecting and supplying so distant a post, the extreme barrenness of the soil to the extent that had been explored, the ferocity of the Indians in the neighbourhood, some of whom were said to be anthropophagi, appeared to present unsurmountable obstacles, while no probable advantage could be contemplated, but the preservation of the possession, which La-

salle had taken of that part of the country, thirty six years before, in which his life and that of the greatest part of his followers had been sacrificed. Laharpe was now arrived with a commission, of which he was impatient to avail himself, and Bienville gave his reluctant assent to the measure.

Beranger was directed to carry the new commandant and thirty men to the bay; fifteen barrels of flour and as many of meat were spared for their use.

The weakness of the detachment, and the smallness of the supply (both, in the opinion of Laharpe inadequate) furnished him irrefragable proof that he was starting on an expedition, in which the best wishes of Bienville did not attend him. He weighed anchor on the twenty-sixth of August.

His instructions from the company were to take formal possession of the country, and to set up a post with the arms of France, on some conspicuous part of the shore—to build a fort and secure by treaties the amity and good will of as many of the Indian tribes as he could. If he met any Spanish force, in the country, he was directed to represent to the commandant, that it belonged to the crown of France, by virtue of the possession taken by Lasalle, in 1685, and in case he, or any other stranger, insisted on the right of staying, to remove him by force.

The order of the council for the removal of head quarters to Biloxi was now executed, and Bienville, with his staff removed thither, leaving Marigny in command at Fort Conde.

Since the departure of Law from France, the affairs of the company there, had fallen into great confusion and disorder, and very little attention was given to the supplies that were needed in Louisiana. None being procured by agriculture, provisions became extremely scarce. To provide against the



distress of impending famine, such of the troops, as could be spared from the service of the posts, were sent, in small detachments, to Pearl river, Pascagoula and among the Indians, to procure their subsistence by fishing and hunting. Their unskillfulness, in this mode of seeking sustenance, made it necessary to have recourse to impressment. This measure caused great murmurs among the planters; but the scarcity of provisions was productive of more dreadful consequences among the soldiers. Twenty-six men, who were in garrison at Fort Toulouse, on the river of the Alibamons, exasperated by hunger and distress, mutinied, and rising against Marchand, their commander, marched off with their arms and baggage, in the expectation of finding their way to the back settlements of Carolina. Villemont, the lieutenant, immediately rode to the village and prevailed on the Indians to go and way-lay the deserters; they were overpowered, by the savage assailants, but not without great carnage. Sixteen were killed, and two only escaped. The other eight being made prisoners, were brought to Fort Louis and soon after executed.

In the latter part of September, the colony was, in some measure, relieved by the arrival of a ship from France, with provisions. She brought accounts that the Regent had placed the affairs of the company under the direction of three commissioners. They were Ferrand, Faget and Machinet.

Laharpe returned from the bay of St. Bernard, on the third of October. He reported he had proceeded three hundred miles westerly from the Mississippi. On the 27th of August, he had entered a bay in latitude 29. 5. which he took for the one he was sent to. He found, on the bar, at its entrance, eleven feet of water, and having crossed it he sailed westerly; the sounding gave all along from fifteen to twenty feet.

There was a small island, at the entrance of the bay. Bellisle, Laharpe's lieutenant, having gone on shore on the 29th, met a party of Indians, about forty in number, many of whom offered to come on board. He suffered six of them to enter his boat; others followed in four canoes. They were entertained on board of the vessel, and among other presents a dog, a cock and a few hens were given them; they seemed greatly pleased with them.

On the next day, Bellisle having again landed with a few soldiers, was met by some of these Indians, who led him to their village. The French were hospitably received, and made a few presents to their hosts; and the soldiers, with a view of showing them the effect of gun powder, made a discharge of their pieces.

Bellisle visited the Indians again on the next day. He told them the intention of the French, in coming to the bay, was to settle and live in friendship with the natives, and afford them protection against their enemies. They replied they would communicate this to, and consult, their countrymen.

On the second of September, the Indians continuing to evince great reserve, the vessel proceeded farther westerly. Laharpe and Bellisle went several times ashore, attended by a few soldiers, to view the country, without seeing any Indians. Sailing N. W. and N. N. W. for two leagues, they came to an island, at the distance of a musket shot from the main. Here a number of Indians came on board, while many others appeared on the shore on horseback, ranged in battle array. This induced Laharpe to forbear landing. The vessel proceeded to another island near the main, and sailing farther on they found a river flowing through a wide prairie. The river was wide, its water excellent, and the current slow.

Sailing along the coast, several miles farther, they cast anchor at night, before a cluster of cabins. Laharpe and Bellisle going ashore on the next day were coldly received. The squaws began to yell, striking their sides and screaming horribly. The men asked Laharpe for some goods; he answered all the goods the French had brought were still on board of their vessel, and the men in the boat had come with no other intention than to see the country and pay the inhabitants a friendly visit: they were answered one should not come empty handed among strangers. A vehement debate ensued, which induced the French to apprehend that they would be massacred. The party, who were for moderate measures, at last prevailed, and the French were presented with some dried meat and roots.

Laharpe having repeated his intention of settling on the coast, the Indians expressed their absolute disapprobation of it; urging that they were afraid of the French, notwithstanding he represented to them their opposition would bring down against them the Assinai and other tribes, allies of his nation. They persisted in asserting their fixed determination not to allow him to settle, and their wish that the vessel should depart.

According to the observation Laharpe made, the shore of the bay extended to the south, in a series of hills and prairies, interspersed with well timbered land. In the bottom of the bay, he saw a river, the mouth of which appeared to be about one hundred yards wide.

On the fifth, a number of Indians came on board, unarmed. Laharpe was unable to prevail on them to consent to his making a settlement in their country.

Finding that the number of Indians on the bay was

considerable, and that but little dependence could be placed in his soldiers, he united with his lieutenant in the opinion, that it would be imprudent to attempt to force himself upon the natives; but he took the ill judged resolution to carry off a few of them by stratagem, in the hope, that the manner in which they would be received at Fort St. Louis, and the view of the establishment of the French there, might operate on their minds, so as to conquer their obstinacy, and dispose their countrymen to forbear any further opposition to the settlement of the French among them.

Accordingly, he detained twelve of his visitors, as hostages for some of his men who were sent ashore for water, dismissing the other Indians with presents. He learned from his captives, that their nation was at war with the Assinais and the Adayes, and that a number of Spaniards had lately passed through their country with large droves of cattle.

The water being brought, the anchor was weighed, and the vessel went into deep water. At night the Indians manifested their uneasiness, and wished to be sent ashore, but were told to wait till the morning.

At sunrise, Laharpe sent nine of them into the cabin, and made a few soldiers stand by with fixed bayonets, to prevent any of them to come out. This precaution excited great alarm among them, and they manifested their apprehension that their destruction was intended. They were told not to fear any thing for themselves or their companions—that they would be carried to the chief of the French, in order that he might learn from them the motives of their people in preventing his warriors from settling among them, after receiving the presents he had sent them—that they would be treated kindly and allowed soon to return.

The Indians on deck were now furnished with a canoe to reach the shore. Laharpe made them a few presents, and recommended to them not to allow the Spaniards to settle in their country. Immediately on their leaving the vessel, the guard was removed, the Indians in the cabin allowed to come on deck, and a boat was sent on shore to set up a post on a point of land, with a leaden plate on which the arms of France were engraven.

The Indians on board still imagined they were to be landed; but on the return of the boat, they discovered their error, and endeavoured by various means to induce Laharpe to change his determination; sometimes telling him, if he kept in, he would run on the shoals; at other times offering to conduct him to places where good oysters were to be had, or to point out spots, in which treasures were hidden.

According to the information of the Indians, and the judgment of Laharpe, the bay he came from was the one Don Martin de Alacorne discovered in 1718, which he placed in twenty-nine degrees, five minutes, and which he called *del Spiritu Santo*.

Bienville highly disapproved the conduct of Laharpe in decoying these Indians, and gave orders to carry them back immediately; but while preparations were making, they escaped and sought their home by land.

No further attempt to settle the bay of St. Bernard appears ever to have been made by the French. Laharpe was greatly mortified at the abandonment of the plan. He thought considerable advantages might have been derived from it, as the situation of the bay afforded safe harbours and a great facility to commerce with the Spaniards, and its navigable rivers invited population. The scarcity of provisions, arms and ammunition in the colony, the smallness of its mi-

litary force, in relation to the many posts to be protected, were considered by the colonial administration, as insuperable obstacles.

On the day after Laharpe's return, Bienville learnt by despatches from the commissioners, that he was restored in the presidency of the council, and they had resolved that the principal establishment of the colony should be removed to New Orleans. They also directed him to order a survey of the river of the Arkansas, with the view of ascertaining how far it was navigable. It seems the council of the company in France still thought it their interest to extend its possessions in Louisiana, rather than to avail themselves of the advantages the part now occupied presented. They flattered themselves that by pursuing their discoveries to the west, mines of the precious metals might be reached, or a trade with the Spaniards insured. The latter, however, were not inattentive to the views of the French.

St. Denys, who commanded at the fort of Natchitoches, was apprised by a trader from the Adayes, that the Marquis de Gallo, lately appointed governor of the province of Texas, had come among these Indians, with four hundred horsemen, and about fifty thousand dollars worth of goods; he had also a large number of waggons loaded with provisions and effects. He had begun to burn bricks for a fort which he intended to build immediately. The unpleasant information was received at the same time that the Chickasaws had murdered two Canadians.

In pursuance of the orders of the commissioners, Delorme removed to New Orleans on the first of November.

Laharpe, finding himself unemployed by the determination of the colonial administrators to suspend the execution of the plan of settling the bay of St.

Bernard, offered his services to Bienville for the execution of the orders of the commissioners in regard to the river of the Arkansas.

Notwithstanding this measure was positively ordered by the commissioners, the company's agent opposed it strenuously. Bienville however, considered it as one of vital importance. He was anxious to establish a post in that part of the province, to protect the commerce with the Illinois, and facilitate the introduction of cattle from the Spanish provinces.

Laharpe was detached with sixteen men for this service. He was directed after having rested his men, at the mouth of the river, to ascend its main branch as high as he could, to take notice of every island and creek, to look for mines and in case he discovered any to bring some of the ore. In case of any attempt on the part of the Spaniards to effect a settlement on any of these streams, the same instructions were given him, as when he went to the bay of St. Bernard, to insist on the possession, taken by Lasalle in 1678, when he descended the Mississippi.

In December father Charlevoix reached Louisiana from Canada, by the way of the Illinois. He stopped at the fort of the Yazous, spent the Christmas holidays at the Natchez, and floated down to New-Orleans, which he reached on the sixth of January.

He gave out that he had the king's order to seek a northwest passage to China, and to inquire into the state of the southern province; but as he produced no official letter, not much credit was given to his assertion. He was however treated, wherever he went, with considerable attention.

New Orleans, according to his account, consisted at that time of one hundred cabins, placed without much order, a large woollen warehouse, two or three dwelling houses, that would not have adorned

a village, and a miserable store house, which had been at first occupied as a chapel; a shed being now used for this purpose. Its population did not exceed two hundred persons.

The father stopped at the island of the Balise, which had just been formed. He chaunted a high mass on and blessed it, according to the ritual of his church. He gave it the name of Toulouse island, which it does not appear to have long retained.

The only settlements then begun below the Natchez were those of St. Reine and Madam de Mezieres, a little below Pointe Coupee—that of Diron d'Artaguet, at Baton Rouge—that of Paris, near bayou Manchac—that of the Marquis d'Anconis, below Lafourche—that of the Marquis d'Artagnac, at *Cannes Brules*—that of de Meuse a little below, and a plantation of three brothers of the name of Chauvin, lately come from Canada, at the Tchapitoulas.

Charlevoix reached Fort St. Louis of the Biloxi on the thirty-first of January, and left it on the twenty fourth of March for Hispaniola.

Duvergier returned to France in the same month.

Loubois, a knight of St. Louis, arrived soon after and took the command of Fort St. Louis, and Latour received the commission of lieutenant general of the province, much to the mortification of Bienville and Chateaugué.

The Commissioners forwarded for publication a set of rules they had adopted for the management of the company's concerns in Louisiana. They provided that negroes should be sold at six hundred and seventy livres, or one hundred and seventy-six dollars, payable in three annual instalments, in rice or tobacco.

Rice was received at twelve livres or three dollars the barrel, and tobacco at twenty-six livres or six dollars and fifty cents.



Wine was sold at twenty-six livres or six dollars and fifty cents the barrel, and brandy at one hundred and twenty livres or thirty dollars the quarter cask.

A copper coinage had lately been struck for the use of the king's colonies in America, and ordered to be used in the payment of the troops. It was declared a lawful tender in the company stores.

The province for civil and military purposes, was now divided into nine districts. Alibamons, Mobile, Biloxi, New Orleans, Natchez, the Yazous, the Illinois and Wabash, Arkansas and Natchitoches. A commandant and judge was directed to be appointed in each.

For religious purposes, there were three principal divisions. The first was under the care of the capuchins, and extended from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Illinois. The barefooted carmelites attended to the second, which included the civil districts of Biloxi, Mobile and Alibamons. The Wabash and Illinois formed the last, confided to the Jesuits. Churches and chapels were directed to be built at convenient distances. Before this time, in many places, large wooden crosses were raised at convenient places, and the people assembled around them, sheltered by trees, to unite in prayer.

The Chickasaws continued their hostilities: they attacked a Canadian pirogue, descending the Mississippi, near Fort Prudhomme and killed two of the men.

In the month of May, Fouquet brought to Biloxi the portion of the late copper coinage, for the province.

La Renaudiere, an officer, who had been sent at the head of a brigade of miners, by the directors, now led them up the Missouri. Their labour had no other effect than to shew how much the company

was imposed on, and the facility with which the principal agents themselves were induced to employ men without capacity and send them to such a distance and at an enormous expense.

Since the failure of Law and his departure from France, his grant at the Arkansas had been entirely neglected, and the greatest part of the settlers, whom he had transported thither from Germany, finding themselves abandoned and disappointed, came down to New Orleans, with the hope of obtaining a passage to some port of France, from which they might be enabled to return home. The colonial government being unable or unwilling to grant it, small allotments of land were made to them twenty miles above New Orleans, on both sides of the river, on which they settled in cottage farms. The chevalier d'Arensborg, a Swedish officer, lately arrived, was appointed commandant of the new post. This was the beginning of the settlement, known as the German coast, or the parishes of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist. These laborious men supplied the troops and the inhabitants of New Orleans with garden stuff. Loading their pirogues, with the produce of their week's work, on Saturday evening, they floated down the river and were ready to spread at sun-rise, on the first market that was held on the banks of the Mississippi, their supplies of vegetables, fowls and butter. Returning, at the close of the market, they reached their homes early in the night, and were ready to resume their work at sun rise; having brought the groceries and other articles needed in the course of the week.

The island, which Father Charlevoix had lately blessed and to which he had given the name of Toulouse, having been examined, under the orders of Bienville, by Pauger, appeared to be a convenient

place for the residence of pilots. To afford the entrance of the river some protection, a battery was now raised on it, with barracks, a magazine and chapel, and a small garrison was sent there.

Laharpe returned from his expedition to the river of the Arkansas, on the 20th of May: he had reached the Natchez on the seventeenth of January and found Fort Rosalie a heap of rotten timber: Manneval, who commanded it, had only eighteen soldiers. He staid but one day with him and met, at the mouth of the river of the Yazous, two Canadians pirogues, loaded with 50,000 lb. weight of salt meat. They had killed eighteen bears about the head point of Point Coupee.

Laharpe reached, nine miles up Yazou river, a settlement called Fort St. Peter, commanded by de Grave. There were not more than thirty acres of arable land near the fort; the rest was nothing but stony hills. On digging turf and clay, it was found the water was bad and the place sickly.

A little above the fort were villages of the Coroas, Offogoulas and Oatsees. Their huts were scattered on small hillocks artificially made in the valley. Their whole population did not exceed two hundred and fifty heads. About one hundred miles to the northeast, were the Chouactas, about forty in number, and still higher the Chachoumas, who numbered about one hundred and fifty. In high water, these villages were inaccessible by land. Nine miles higher were the Outaypes, a very small tribe, and fifteen miles farther the Tapouchas, near the Choctaws.

Laharpe left the Yazou river, on the fifteenth of February, and ascending the Mississippi one hundred and sixty-four miles, came to the lower branch of the river of the Arkansas. He found its current extremely rapid, and stopped a little above its mouth, near that of a stream coming from the north west from the Osa-

ges. The large quantity of rock in its bed prevented its navigation.

The first village was reached on the first of March. It consisted of forty-one cabins and three hundred and twenty persons. Laharpe found here Duboulay, who was there since the month of September: having been sent thither from the fort of the Yazous, to protect these Indians, and the boats from the Illinois, which commonly stopped at this place, to procure provisions.

The Arkansas were not pleased at the arrival of the French among them, nor disposed to afford to their leader any information of the topography of their country. They saw with pain his preparations to visit and form alliances with the tribes in the west, and exerted themselves to dissuade him from it; telling him that his party was in great danger of being murdered by the Osages. They refused to accommodate him with a pirogue, although there were upwards of twenty, fastened before the village, and he found also great difficulty in procuring provisions. He next proceeded to Law's grant; it lay N. N. W. from the village, on the right side of the river, at the distance of about seven miles. The buildings had been erected about a mile from the water. There remained but forty persons of all ages and sexes: they had a small clearing sown with wheat.

On the third, he sent to the upper village for provisions. The Indians of it came from the Caenzas a nation who dwelt on the Missouri. This settlement was insulated, and had a population of about four hundred persons. Having obtained what he wanted, he sent five of his men forward, directing them to halt on the second day and wait for him. He sat off on the next, with the rest, in all twenty-two men, including Prudhomme and four others, whom he had taken at the fort of the Yazous.

Proceeding the distance of two hundred and thirty miles, he came to a remarkable rock on the left bank of the river, mixed with jaspered marble, forming three steep hillocks, one hundred and sixty-nine feet high. Near it, is a quarry of slate, and at its foot a beautiful cascade and basin. The water of the river for the first ninety miles is redish; it afterwards becomes so clear as to be potable.

The party proceeded seventy miles farther; but the current growing extremely rapid and disease prevailing among the soldiers, Laharpe determined to return, much against his inclination; as, according to his reckoning, he was within three hundred miles of a nation, whom he visited in 1717, while he was stationed at the Cadodaqueous. He saw red and white morillos in abundance.

After making a chart of the river, for three hundred and fifty miles from the first village, he landed and visited several nations on the west side of the river, and spent some time in exploring the country on the opposite shore. He then descended the river to Law's grant, where a boat had just arrived from New Orleans, with provisions. They were so needed that the Germans were making preparations to abandon the settlement.

In floating down the Mississippi, Laharpe was near being surprised by a party of the Chickasaws.

Peace had in the mean time been made between France and Spain, and on the thirty-first of May, a Spanish vessel from Vera Cruz, landed Don Alexander Wauchop, a captain of the royal navy of Spain, at the Biloxi. He was bearer of despatches to Bienville from the Marquis de Valero, viceroy of Mexico, enclosing an official copy of the late treaty, which contained a clause for the restoration of Pensacola, of which Don Alexander was sent to take possession.

Father Charlevoix returned on the fourth of June ; the vessel, in which he had sailed for St. Domingo having been wrecked on one of the Martyr islands, on the fourteenth of April. He sailed soon after for the place of his destination.

A large party of the Chickasaws, attacked, in the month of July, the Indians on Yazou river, near Fort St. Peter, robbed them of their provisions and scalped a sergeant of the garrison and his wife in their own cabin, within a musket shot of the fort. In apprising Bienville of this irruption, de Grave, the commandant of Fort St. Peter, added there were several parties of the hostile Indians hovering in the woods, with a view of surprising the Coroas, Offagoulas and Yazous. These had sent their women and children into the fort.

The beginning of August, Bienville removed his head quarters to New Orleans. In the latter part of the month, he was visited by a deputation of the Itomapas, a tribe on the western side of the Mississippi, who had stopped in the village of Colapissas, whose chief falling sick during their visit, his countrymen attributed his malady to a spell cast on him by their guests. They followed them to New Orleans, and solicited Bienville's interference, in order to obtain the removal of the spell.

The company, at home, were still less intent to promote agriculture in the parts of Louisiana occupied by the French, than on the discovery of mines of the precious metals, and the extension of trade with the most remote nations of Indians. Yielding to the representations of Boismont, an officer heretofore attached to the garrison of Fort Chartres of the Illinois, who had made several expeditions up the Missouri, and having gone over had been made a knight of St. Louis, they sent him to New Orleans and direc-

ted Bienville to furnish him a detachment, pirogues, arms, ammunition and provision, that he might build a fort and begin a settlement on the banks of that river. He landed early in September, bringing to the colonists, as a spiritual relief, three father capuchins and one lay brother.

In their despatches, the commissioners announced to Bienville that the company expected he should consider himself, not only as the commandant general of its forces in Louisiana, but also, principal director of its concerns, and as responsible for their success—that if they prospered, he should have all the credit of it, but, in case of their miscarriage the loss of the regent's favour.

They inclosed to him a printed copy of a royal proclamation, published on the twenty-first of May, announcing the failure of the bank established by Law. On the following day, its notes became absolutely worthless. By its failure an immense number of individuals were ruined, and many rich families reduced to abject poverty. To sooth the general interest, d'Aguesseau was recalled from exile, and the seals were returned to him. About the same time the British nation was gulled, nearly in the same manner, but not to the same extent, by what was called the south sea bubble.

A number of pirogues having been built, Boismont led his detachment to the Missouri.

A most destructive hurricane desolated the province on the eleventh of September. The church, hospital, and thirty houses were levelled to the ground in New Orleans; three vessels that lay before it were driven on shore. The crops above and below were totally destroyed, and many houses of the planters blown down. It prevailed with great violence at the Natchez and Biloxi. Three vessels that were at an-

chor before the last place, were driven high up on the shore. Famine threatened the colony with its horrors, and the chief despatched vessels in search of provisions to Vera Cruz, Havana and St. Domingo.

Hitherto apprehension, in regard to Indian hostility, had been confined to one quarter, and the Chickasaws alone excited the alarm of the French. Dutisne an officer of the garrison of Fort Rosalie, came to New Orleans in the latter part of the month, with distressing accounts from that quarter.

A sergeant having quarrelled with an Indian, an affray ensued. The guard at the fort turned out to quell it. They were attacked by a numerous body of Indians, on whom they at last fired, killing one of them and wounding another. A few days after, Guenot, the director of the grant of St. Catherine, was fired on in the road and wounded; and on the next, the Indians attacked, and attempted to carry away, a cart loaded with provisions, and guarded by a few soldiers. Hiding themselves under high grass, they fired and killed a negro, and wounded another. A party of eighty of them, a few days after, attacked the settlement; but were repulsed with the loss of seven men. They had taken two planters, whose heads they had cut off; they also carried away a considerable number of horses, cattle and hogs.

Two sons of the Natchez were on a visit to Bienville, when Dutisne reached New Orleans. Instead of sending at once a strong force to chastise the offending Indians, presents were made to these chiefs, who promised to go and put a stop to the disorder.

Disease added, in the fall, its horrors to those of impending dearth; but the colonists were in some degree relieved by the appearance of an unexpected crop of rice. The grain scattered by the hurricane had taken root, and promised a comparative abundance.



[1723]

The directors who had remained at the Biloxi, now joined Delorme at New Orleans.

The scarcity of provisions created such distress, that several of the inhabitants seriously thought of abandoning the colony; and a company of infantry, who had staid behind at the Biloxi, being ordered to New Orleans, were embarked on board of a schooner; but, as soon as she sailed, the captain and officers forced her master to sail for Charleston—where they landed with their arms and baggage.

Renaud, one of the directors of the company's concerns, had gone to the neighbourhood of the Missouri, whither he was industriously engaged in a search after mines. In the belief that several existed on the shores of the Mississippi, Missouri, Marameg and the river of the Illinois, he procured from Boisbriant, six grants of land on these streams, each three miles in front on the water, with a depth of eighteen.

The land in Louisiana had appeared very favourable to the culture of indigo; and measures were taken by the company, at the solicitation of the planters, to supply them with seed.

Laharpe, on his return from Pensacola, where he had been to bring back the troops and effects of the company, on the Spaniards taking possession of the place, reported that Wauchop, who remained there in command, had begun a settlement on the island of St. Rose, where his force was to stay till he was reinforced by a sufficient number to allow a removal to the main: the island being more easily defensible, the post at the bay of St. Joseph had been abandoned.

The Spaniards being badly supplied with provisions, Wauchop made application to the French for flour; intimating that, if he could be accommodated, he would send for it to New Orleans, and probably improve the opportunity of paying his respects to Bi-

enville there, as he was authorised by the viceroy to receive the arms taken at Pensacola; for the restoration of which, a clause had been inserted in the late treaty. The council advised Bienville to decline the honor of the intended visit: it being thought imprudent to allow the governor of Pensacola, to reconnoitre the passes of the Mississippi, while they were unguarded by any fort, or to become acquainted with the state of the forces of the colony. The fleet was accordingly sent to Mobile, where Wauchop was requested to send and receive it.

While the Spaniards were thus resuming possession of Pensacola in the east, they were reinforcing their garrisons of the west, in the scattered posts of the province of Texas. St. Denys, in a letter from Natchitoches of the sixteenth of January, informed Bienville the Marquis de Gallo had lately received five hundred soldiers.

On the other hand, accounts were received that the Chickasaws had lately been defeated in a pitched battle by the Choctaws, in which the former had sustained a loss of four hundred men.

The distresses, that had followed in France the failure of Law's scheme, were now most heavily felt. Louisiana deeply participated in them, and the French cabinet thought of no better plan of affording relief to the colonists, than an alteration of the value of money.

The first attempt was by a rise at the rate of eighty seven and a half per cent. The dollar of Mexico was the only silver coin in circulation in the province; its value was accordingly raised from four livres, at which it was then received in payment, to seven and a half; so that the creditor of a sum of four thousand livres, or one thousand dollars before the edict, which bears date the twelfth of January, 1723, was compel-

led to accept in discharge five hundred and thirty dollars and a third.

Matters remained thus during one year. Experience shewed the measure adopted. was not the right one. As a rise had proved disastrous, it was thought a fall or reduction would have the contrary effect. But, as in the natural body, disease comes on rapidly, and the cure proceeds slowly, it was thought best that the healing of the political should be gradually effected. Accordingly, by an edict of the twenty-sixth of February, in the following year a reduction of six and two thirds per cent. was ordered, and the value of the dollar was brought down from seven and a half to seven livres. Thus, the creditor of a sum of four thousand livres before the rise, who had not been tendered after it, five hundred and thirty three dollars and a third, was now permitted to demand five hundred and sixty two dollars and eighty seven cents and a half.

But, this small and tardy relief was paid for by those who had contracted between the publications of the two edicts. He who, on the twenty-fifth of February, had made a note for seven thousand five hundred livres, which could be discharged by the payment of one thousand dollars, was, after the publication of the last edict, compelled to pay an advance of seventy dollars and upwards.

What was intended for, and was called, a healing process, was the administration of poison in lieu of a remedy; the doses were not strong, but came in rapid succession. Within sixty days, on the second of May, a new edict proclaimed a further reduction of twenty per cent; the value of the dollar being lowered to five livres and twelve sous.

Within six months, a farther reduction of twenty per cent. was operated; and the value of the dollar

was reduced by an edict of the thirtieth of October, to four livres and a half. Thus, within less than ten months, was the money raised in its value eighty seven and a half per cent. and gradually reduced to its original rate.

Public and private distresses are curable by the same remedies only: for the former is only the accumulation of the latter. A violent medicine often injures the natural, so do violent measures the political, body.

Indolence, improvidence and extravagance, at times, occasion private distress, and this the public. Industry, economy and order alone can relieve the first; and if the latter be curable by the same means only, it is vain to resort to alterations in the value of money, a paper currency, or tender laws—indeed to any such artificial remedies. Loans are palliatives only, and frequently injurious ones. They may, for a moment, mitigate the effect of the disease; but they foment the cause, which should be removed, if a radical cure be intended. If the extravagant, the improvident and the idle be indulged, there can be but little hope of their becoming economical, provident and laborious.

The company, with the view of providing for the spiritual wants of the upper part of the province, in which clergymen were most wanted, entered into arrangements with the order of the Jesuits, by which curates and missionaries were obtained. Persons, professing any other religion than the catholic, were not treated with equal charity, and the spirit of intolerance dictated an edict, in the month of March, by which the exercise of any other religion was prohibited in Louisiana, and jews were directed to be expelled from it, as enemies of the christian name. A black code for the government of the slaves was given to the colony this year.

Gross infidelities having been committed in the transmission of letters and packets in Louisiana, the king, by an edict of this summer, denounced against persons, intercepting letters and packets in the colony, or opening them and disclosing their contents, a fine of five hundred livres, and the offender, if holding the king's commission was to be cashiered, otherwise put in the pillory.

The colonists considered the preservation of horses and cattle as an object of primary importance; and the superior council had framed regulations for this purpose, as well as for the propagation of these animals. They had proved ineffectual: the interposition of the royal authority had been solicited, and by an edict of the twenty-second of May, the punishment of death was denounced against any person killing or wounding another's horses or cattle. The killing of one's own cow or ewe, or the female young of these animals, was punished by a fine of three hundred livres.

This was a most flagrant instance of the abuse of the punishment of death. It is inflicted for the wounding of an animal; neither does the legislator stop to distinguish between the most deadly stroke and the slightest solution of contiguity.

In no period, in the annals of Louisiana, does the province appear to have engrossed so much legislative attention. Louis the fifteenth, had some time in the preceding year, reached his thirteenth, declared himself of age, and assumed the government of his dominions. Happy the country when legislation is never confided to a boy; happier that, in which it is only trusted to representatives, chosen by the people, and for a very limited period.

Lachaise and Perrault, lately appointed commissioners to examine and make a report concerning the

agents and clerks of the company in Louisiana, reached New Orleans in the fall, with two capuchins. Lachaise was a nephew of father Francois de la Chaise, an eminent jesuit, who, being confessor to Louis the fourteenth, had the firmness to withhold absolution from his royal penitent, till he abandoned or married the celebrated madam de Maintenon.

Philip the fifth of Spain gave to the world the rare spectacle of a monarch relinquishing and reassuming a crown, within one year. A prey to superstition, melancholy and suspicion, he imitated Charles the first; abdicated the throne in favour of Louis, his eldest son, and retired into a cloister. The new king dying a few months after, from the small pox, the royal monk threw off the cowl, with the same facility as he had the diadem, and leaving in the convent his superstition, suspicions and melancholy, with renovated vigour, successfully directed the destinies of Spain during a second reign.

The superior council now held its sessions in New Orleans, presided by Lachaise, who had succeeded Duvergier as ordonnateur. Bruslé, Perry, Fazende and Fleuriau, had lately been called to seats in that tribunal. Fleuriau had succeeded Cartier de la Baune in the office of attorney general, and Rosart was clerk of that tribunal.

With the view of providing for a speedy determination of small suits, an edict of the month of December, 1725, directed that, independently of the monthly sessions of the council, particular ones should be holden, once or twice a week, by two of its members, chosen and removeable by it, to try causes, in which the value of the matter in dispute did not exceed one hundred livres, or about twenty-two dollars.

The provision lately made for clergymen having proven insufficient for the wants of the colony, and the

bishop of Quebec, within whose diocese it was finding it inconvenient to send the necessary number of curates and missionaries to the upper district, the company entered into a new treaty with the jesuits, on the twentieth of February 1726.

By this, that of 1724 was annulled. Father Beau-bois, the superior of the missionaries, who had come over in that year, was allowed eighteen hundred livres for his services, and a gratification of three thousand livres was divided between his associates for their past services.

The jesuits engaged to keep constantly, at least fourteen priests of their order in the colony, viz: a curate and missionary at Kaskaskias; a missionary in the village of the Brochigomas; a chaplain and missionary, at the fort on the Wabash; a missionary at the Arkansas; a chaplain and Missionary at fort St. Peter, among the Yazous; another missionary there, whose duty it was to endeavour to penetrate into the country of the Chickasaws, to propagate the Catholic religion, and promote union between these Indians and the French; two missionaries at the Alibamons, one of whom was to preach the gospel to the Choctaws. These locations were not to be altered without the governor's consent.

Father Petit, the superior of the jesuits in the province, was permitted to reside in New Orleans, but not to perform any ecclesiastical functions there, without the license of the superior of the Capuchins. The company engaged to furnish him with a chapel, vestry room, and a house and lot for his accommodation, that of a missionary, and the temporary use of such priests of his order, as might arrive in New Orleans.

The order was to have a grant of land of ten arpents

in front on the Mississippi, with the ordinary depth, and negroes, on the same terms as the planters.

The jesuits were to be conveyed to Louisiana, at the expense of the company, and a yearly salary of six hundred livres, one hundred and thirty-three dollars and thirty-three cents, was to be paid to each, with an addition of two hundred livres, forty-four dollars and forty-four cents, during each of the first five years; every missionary was to have an outfit of four hundred and fifty livres, or one hundred dollars, and a chapel.

Money or goods were furnished at each mission for building a church and presbytery.

Jesuit lay brothers were to receive their passage, and a gratification of one hundred and fifty livres, thirty-three dollars and thirty-three cents, but no salary.

The churches and presbyteries, built at Kaskaskias and the village of the Michigourras, were given to the order.

The treaty received the king's approbation, on the seventeenth of August.

Similar arrangements were made with the Capuchins, those with the Carmelites having been annulled.

All the lower part of the province was put under the ecclesiastical care of the Capuchins. Father Bruno, their superior in Louisiana, received the appointment of vicar-general of the bishop of Quebec. A convent was built for them in New Orleans, on the square, immediately below the church. The superior, aided by two monks as his vicars, acted as curate of the parish; a third was chaplain to the military force in New Orleans, and another at the Balize. Curates were stationed at Mobile and Biloxi, the German coast and Natchitoches.



For the purpose of providing for the education of young girls and the care of the hospital, the company entered into an agreement with sisters Marie Françoise Tranchepain St. Augustin and Mary Ann Le Boulanger, St. Angelique, Ursuline nuns of the convent of Rouen, on the thirteenth of September, by which these ladies, assisted by mother Catherine Bruscoli of St. Amand, undertook to pass over to Louisiana with several other nuns of their order. The company engaged to provide for the wants of the hospital, and the subsistence and maintenance of the nuns. The king gave his assent to this arrangement, on the eighteenth of August.

During the fall, Perrier, a lieutenant of the king's ships, having been appointed commandant general of Louisiana, reached New Orleans, and shortly after Bienville sailed for France. We have seen, that in 1698 he came over at the age of eighteen, with Iberville, his brother; he was then a midshipman; and four years after, he succeeded Sauvolle, another brother, in the chief command of the province, which, with little interruption he exercised till this period.

George the first, of Great Britain, died on the eleventh of June, 1727, in his sixty-seventh year, and was succeeded by George the second, his eldest son.

The Jesuits and Ursuline nuns arrived this summer in a company ship. The fathers were placed on a tract of land immediately above the city, which is now the lowest part of the suburb St. Mary. A house and chapel were erected on it for their use. They improved the front of their land by a plantation of the myrtle wax shrub. The nuns were for the present lodged in town, in a house on the northern corner of Chartres and Bienville streets, but the company soon after laid the foundation of a very large edifice for a nunnery, in the lowest square on the levee. The ladies remo-

ved to it in the latter part of 1730, and occupied it until 1824. It was, till the construction of the new convent the largest house in Louisiana. A military hospital was built near it.

A government house was erected immediately below the plantation of the jesuits, and two very long warehouses were built in the two squares below the church, on the levee; one of them was nearly consumed by fire in 1818, the other is now occupied by the United States. This building and the old convent are probably the two oldest edifices in the state.

Barracks were built on each side of the *place d'armes*, the square fronting the cathedral. A house for the sessions of the superior council, and a jail, were built on the square immediately above the church.

The land on which the city stands, till protected by a levee, was subject to annual inundations, and a perfect quagmire. The waters of the Mississippi and those of the lakes met, at a high ridge formed by them, midway between the bayou St. John and New Orleans, called the highland of the lepers. To drain the city, a wide ditch was dug in Bourbon street, the third from and parallel to the river; each lot was surrounded by a small one, which was in course of time filled up, except the part fronting the street, so that every square instead of every lot, was ditched in. In this way, a convenient space was drained.

In the beginning of the winter, a company ship brought a number of poor girls, shipped by the company. They had not been taken, as those whom it had transported before, in the houses of correction of Paris. It had supplied each of them with a small box, *cassette*, containing a few articles of clothing. From this circumstance, and to distinguish them from those who had preceded them, they were called the girls

*de la cassette.* Till they could be disposed of in marriage, they remained under the care of the nuns.

To the culture of rice and tobacco, that of indigo was now added; the fig tree had been introduced from Provence, and the orange from Hispaniola. A considerable number of negroes had been introduced, and land, which hitherto had been considered as of but little value, began to be regarded as of great relative importance. Much attention had not been paid to securing titles; much less to a compliance with the terms on which they had been granted. This began to create confusion, and confusion litigation: for the purpose of stopping this evil in its beginning, the king's council published an edict on the tenth of August, 1728.

All orders of the directors of the company in France, issued to those in Louisiana, before the last of December, 1723, not presented to the latter and followed by possession and the required improvement, were annulled.

Landholders were required to exhibit their titles, and to make a declaration of the quantity of land claimed and improved by them, to the senior member of the superior council, within a limited time, under the penalty of a fine of two hundred dollars, and in case of continued neglect, to comply with these requisites, the land was to be resumed and granted to others.

Grants of more than twenty arpents in front, on either side of the Mississippi, below bayou Manchac, were to be reduced to that front, except in cases, in which the whole front had been improved; it was thought necessary to have a denser population above and below the city, for its better protection and security.

Lands, therefore granted, were required to be im-

proved, by one third of the quantity in front being put in a state to be ploughed and cultivated ; but the two chief officers of the colony were authorised, on application, to make exceptions in favor of such landholders who, having large herds of cattle, kept their land in pasture.

The depth of every grant was fixed at between twenty and one hundred arpents, according to its situation.

The company, as lords of all the land in the province, were authorised to levy a quit rent of a sous (a cent) on every arpent, cultivated or not, and five livres on every negro, to enable it to build churches, glebes and hospitals.

Grantees were restrained from aliening their land until they had made the requisite improvements.

Hunting and fishing were permitted ; provided no damage was done to plantations and enclosures, and no exclusive right thereto was to be granted.

The company were empowered to grant the right of patronage, to persons binding themselves to build and endow churches.

At the departure of Bienville, the colony had made very rapid strides, and reached, in comparison to preceding years, a very high degree of relative prosperity. During the short space of eleven years, since it passed under the care of the company, agriculture had engaged the attention of European capitalists; eighteen hundred negroes had been introduced from Africa, and twenty-five hundred redemptioners brought over; the military force was increased to upwards of eight hundred men. But the moment was approaching, when Louisiana was to receive a very severe check, which was to cause her to retrograde, as fast as she had advanced. In the concerns of communities, as in those of individuals, the tide of

prosperity does not always flow uninterruptedly; adversity often causes it to ebb, and a change of fortune is often experienced, at the moment a reverse appears less to be dreaded.

*Charlevoix.—Laharpe.—Vergennes.—Dupratz.—Archives.*

## CHAPTER XI.

*The Chickasaws meditate the overthrow of the colony— they engage other nations in the plot.—The Chartres discover it.—Perrier sends for some of the chiefs.—They deceive him.—He represents the helpless condition of the province.—His representations are disregarded.—The Chickasaws abandon or delay their plan.—Ill conduct of Chopar, at the Natchez.—They determine on the slaughter of the French, and engage the neighbouring tribes in the plot.—A female discovers and discloses it.—Boats arrive from New Orleans.—Massacre at Fort Rosalie and Fort St. Peter.—Father Doutresleau.—Perrier sends a vessel to France and two up the Mississippi.—He despatches Courriers to the Illinois and his Indian allies.—He fortifies New-Orleans and collects a small force.—Apprehension from the negroes.—Loubois.—Misleix.—The Natchez make propositions of peace.—Their high pretensions.—Lesueur arrives with the Choctaws—They cannot be restrained, and make a bold charge with some success.—The army arrives; the trenches are opened.—Loubois is compelled to accept the propositions of the Natchez.—He builds a Fort and returns.—The Chickasaws afford an asylum to the Natchez and endeavour to gain the Illinois.—Fidelity of the latter.—The Chouachas, influenced by the Chickasaws, attempt to rise against the French.—The negroes are employed to destroy the succour from France.—Perrier goes to Mobile.—His call on the Militia.—Some of the Natchez cross the Mississippi.—Symptoms of insurrection among the negroes.—Perrier goes with a small army to Black river.—He reaches an Indian fort.—Opening of the trenches.—A Parley.—The Great Sun and two other chiefs come out and are detained.—One of them escapes.—Part of*

*the Indians leave the Fort.—The Wife of the Great Sun comes to the camp.—Part of the remaining Indians surrender; the rest leave the Fort—they are pursued and some prisoners taken.—The army returns to New-Orleans.—Four hundred prisoners shipped to Hispaniola.—Surrender of the Company's Charter.—State of the province.*

THE Chickasaws instigated, as French writers urge, by the English of Carolina, now meditated the total ruin of Louisiana, and the destruction of every white individual in it. They had carefully concealed their design from the Illinois, the Arkansas and the Tunicas, whose attachment to the French they knew to be unshakeable. All the other tribes had been engaged in the plot. Each was to fall on the settlement of the French designated to it, and the attacks were to be simultaneous. Even the Choctaws, the most numerous nation in the neighbourhood and that on whom the French placed the greatest reliance, had been gained, though partially only.

Their villages were divided into two distinct settlements. The eastern or the great, and western or the little nation.—The former had refused to join in the conspiracy; but they kept it secret, till it would have been too late to have warded off the blow, if it had been struck at the time.

Perrier was informed that these Indians had some misunderstanding with Diron d'Artaguet (the son of the former commissary ordonnateur) successor, in the command of Fort Conde of Marigny de Mandeville, who had died during the preceding year, after having received the appointment of Maj. General of the troops. He therefore desired the attendance of the headmen of every village of both nations, at New Orleans.

In this interview, he succeeded in removing all grounds of complaint. The head men of the western villages left him determined to break the promise they had given to the Chickasaws to fall on the settlement of Mobile, but equally so to deceive him and have the part, that had been cast off to them in the dire tragedy, performed by the Natchez, in the loss of reaping a double advantage from the French, for their assistance; in the pillage made on, and the prisoners taken from, the Natchez, whose discomfiture, they considered as certain.

Perrier had been sensible, from his arrival in the colony, of the necessity of strengthening distant posts. The province had indeed many forts; but none of any importance, except that of Mobile. The others were heaps of rotten timber, and hardly one of them was garrisoned by more than twenty men. He had frequently represented his dangerous situation to the company and solicited a reinforcement of two or three hundred men. His fears had been considered as chimerical. It was thought he desired only to increase his command, or sought to embroil the colony in war, in order to display his skill in terminating it.

In the meanwhile, the execution of the plan of the Chickasaws had been abandoned or delayed. Perhaps they had discovered symptoms of defection, in the behaviour of the Choctaws. The indiscretion and ill conduct of Chepar, who commanded at Fort Rosalie in the country of the Natchez, induced these Indians to become principals, instead of auxiliaries, in the havoc.

This officer, coveting a tract of land in the possession of one of the chiefs, had used menaces to induce him to surrender it, and unable to intimidate the sturdy Indian, had resorted to violence. The nation to



whom the commandant's conduct had rendered him obnoxious, took part with its injured member—and revenge was determined on. The suns sat in council to devise the means of annoyance, and determined not to confine chastisement to the offender; but, having secured the co-operation of all the tribes, hostile to the French, to effect the total overthrow of the settlement, murder all white men in it, and reduce the women and children to slavery. Messengers were accordingly sent to all the villages of the Natchez and the tribes in their alliance, to induce them to get themselves ready and come on a given day to begin the slaughter. For this purpose, bundles of an equal number of sticks were prepared and sent to every village, with directions to take out a stick every day, after that of the new moon, and the attack was to be on that, on which the last stick was taken out.

This matter was kept a profound secret among the chiefs and the Indians employed by them, and particular care was taken to conceal it from the women. One of the female suns, however, soon discovered that a momentous measure, of which she was not informed, was on foot. Leading one of her sons to a distant and retired spot, in the woods, she upbraided him with his want of confidence in his mother, and artfully drew from him the details of the intended attack. The bundle of sticks for her village had been deposited in the temple, and to the keeper of it, the care had been entrusted of taking out a stick daily.—Having from her rank access to the sanc at all times, she secretly, and at different moments, detached one or two sticks and then threw them into the sacred fire. Unsatisfied with this, she gave notice of the impending danger to an officer of the garrison, in whom she placed confidence. But the information was either disbelieved or disregarded.

An accidental circumstance concurred to destroy the intended concert, by hastening the attack, without preventing its success. In the latter part of November 1729, several boats reached the landing from New Orleans, loaded with a considerable quantity of goods, provisions and ammunition. Deceived by the artifice of the female sun, or tempted by the arrival of the boat, the Natchez in the neighbourhood determined on a sudden attack, before the day that had been designated.

For this purpose, a number of them equal to that of the French in the fort and on the two grants, went into these places, while another party, pretending they were preparing for a great hunting expedition, asked the loan of a few pieces and offered to pay for some powder and shot. They bartered, in this way, a quantity of corn and fowls. A supply being thus obtained, the attack was begun at nine o'clock, each Indian among the French falling on his man. Before noon, upwards of two hundred of the latter were massacred, ninety-two women and one hundred and fifty-five children were made prisoners.

The principal persons who then fell were Chepar, the commandant, Laloire, the principal agent of the company in the post, Kollys father and son, who having purchased Hubert's grant on St. Catherine Creek had just arrived to take possession of it, Bailly, Cordere, Desnoyers, Longpre, and father Poisson, the Jesuit Missionary of the Yazous, who was accidentally there. Two white men only were spared; a carpenter and a tailor—the Indians imagining they might be useful. No injury was done to any negro.

During the massacre, the great sun with apparent unconcern, smoked his pipe, in the company's warehouse. His men bringing the heads of the officers, placed that of Chepar near him, and those of

the rest around it. Their bodies and those of the other Frenchmen were left the prey of vermin and buzzards.

The savage foe ripped open the bellies of pregnant women, and killed those who had young children, whose cries importuned them.

As soon as the Great Sun was informed there did not remain a white man alive, except the carpenter and tailor, he ordered the pillage to begin. The warehouse, fort, dwelling houses and the boats were ransacked; the negroes being employed in bringing out the plunder. It was immediately divided, except the arms and ammunition, which were kept for public use.

As long as the liquor lasted, the nights were spent in gambols and carousing, and the days in barbarous and indecent insults, on the mangled bodies of the victims.

Two soldiers, who were accidentally in the woods during the tragedy, heard of it on their way back, and sat off by land to carry the sad tidings of it to New Orleans. Perishing with hunger, fatigue and cold, they approached late at night, during a heavy rain, a cabin, from which their ears were saluted with the yells of Indians: they determined on entering it, rather than to remain exposed during the rest of the night to the pelting tempest, and were agreeably surprised to find themselves with a party of Yazous, returning from a friendly visit to the Oumas.

They were supplied with a pirogue, blankets and provisions and requested to assure Perrier the Yazous would ever remain steadfast in their friendship for the French, that they would proceed up the river and warn every white man they should meet of the impending danger.

This humane disposition, however, vanished, when

on their reaching the Natchez, presents were made them of a part of the spoil. They suffered themselves to be prevailed on to imitate the latter.

Father Soulet, the missionary of the Natchez, was returning from an excursion in the woods, when he was shot near his cabin. His negro attempted to prevent the pillage of his goods; but the Indians immediately dispatched him.

They proceeded, on the next day, to Fort St. Peter, of the Yazous. There were but fourteen men in it, under the orders of the Chevalier des Roches. They were massacred with their chief. Two women and five children were carried into slavery.

Some of the Indians had put on the chaplain's clothes and even the sacerdotal vestments. These headed their countrymen back to the village of the Natchez, who soon discovered from the fantastic dress and gestures of the Yazous, that they had imitated their example and destroyed every white man among them.

Father Doutrelau, the missionary of the Arkansas, availing himself of the leisure of the hunting season, to make a trip to New Orleans, was descending the river, having left his mission on new-year's day. He intended to stop and say mass, at Father Soulet's, of whose death he was ignorant; but being unable to arrive in time, he had stopped at the mouth of the little river of the Yazous, and begun his arrangements for the celebrating of the holy mysteries. He was dressing his altar, when a pirogue full of Indians approached. On being hailed, they answered they were Yazous and friends of the French. They came ashore and shook hands, with the holy man and his companions. A flock of ducks passing over, the father's fellow travellers fired at them, without taking the precaution of reloading their pieces; this im-

prudence did not escape the attention of the Indians, who placed themselves behind them, as if intending to join in their devotions. The first psalm was hardly finished, before a discharge of the pieces of the Indians wounded the father in the arm, and killed one of the men, who were waiting on him. The other Frenchmen, seeing their companion dead and the father wounded, imagining he had met the same fate, fled to their pirogue; but, his wound being a flesh one only, he soon rose and running to the river, with the sacerdotal vestments on, got on board. The Indians fired again: one of the men had his thigh broke and the father received another small injury.

The pirogue was drifting: the Indians, running along the shore, continued their fire, but without doing any more mischief. The French stopped, as soon as they were out of the reach of a ball, to wash the wounds of their men, and then pushed for the settlement of the Natchez.

On their arrival, seeing the houses burnt or thrown down, they did not suffer themselves to be prevailed on to land, by the invitation of the Indians, who hailed them, and soon substituted the fire of their arms, to the calls of friendship and hospitality. They determined on avoiding either shore, till they reached New Orleans, and began to apprehend that on their arrival there, they would find it necessary to drift to the Balize. On the event of the dire catastrophe, which began at the Yazous, having continued down to the lower settlement on the river, they hoped to find, on board of the shipping, some person escaped from the general massacre.

As they approached bayou Tunica, they rowed close to the opposite shore, but were discovered, and a pirogue left the landing to reconnoitre them. They pulled faster, but it gained on them: on hearing

French spoken on board, joy succeeded to alarm. Crossing the stream with their countrymen, they soon found themselves in the middle of a small force gathered from Pointe Coupee, Baton Rouge and Manshac. They were friendly received: surgeons attended their wounds, and all were accommodated with room, in a large and commodious boat, that was going to New Orleans for provisions.

As soon as information of the massacre reached the city, Perrier despatched one of the company ships that were in the colony, to France, for troops and succour. He sent courriers to the Illinois, by Red River and to Mobile, the Choctaws and the country watered by the Tennessee and Kentucky rivers, on the other side. Emissaries went also to the Indian tribes in alliance with the French. Every house in the city, and the plantations near it, was supplied with arms and ammunition out of the company's magazine, and the two remaining ships were directed to proceed as far as bayou Tunica, for the reception and safety of women and children, in the last extremity. The city was surrounded by a wide ditch, and guards were put at each corner. There were then small forts at the Tchapotoulas, Cannes brulees, the German Coast, Manshac and Pointe Coupee.

Perrier had collected about three hundred soldiers: having sent for those at Fort St. Louis and Fort Conde. Three hundred men of the militia had joined this force, and he was preparing to march at their head, when it was discovered that the negroes on the plantations evinced symptoms of an intention of joining the Indians against their masters, in the hope of obtaining their liberty, as some had done at the Natchez. There were then nearly two thousand blacks in the colony, a number equal to one half of the French, but the most of them were in or at a short

distance above the city, where their number perhaps preponderated over that of the French. The company had a gang of two hundred and sixty, on their plantation, and there were less, but yet very considerable, gangs on some of the principal grants. A few parties of vagrant Indians were hovering around the city, and greatly excited the alarms of its inhabitants. Perrier, therefore, gave the command of this small army to the chevalier de Loubois, and sent onwards an officer of the name of Mispieux, to procure information of the strength and motions of the enemy.

Lesueur, who had gone to the Choctaws, collected seven hundred warriors of that nation and led them across the country.

Mispieux landed at the Natchez on the twenty-fourth of January, with five men. The Indians had noticed the approach of this small party: they fired on it and killed three men and made Mispieux and the other two prisoners.

Loubois was advancing: his force had been swelled at bayou Tunica by the militia of Manshac, Baton Rouge and Pointe Coupee and a few Indians. The Natchez, apprised of this by their runners, despatched some of their chiefs to meet, and offer peace to Loubois.

Their pretensions were high; they required that Broutin, who had before been in command at Fort Rosalie, and the principal chief of the Tunica Indians should be sent as hostages. They demanded for the ransom of the women and children in their possession, two hundred barrels of powder, two thousand flints, four thousand weight of balls, two hundred knives and as many axes, hoes, shirts, coats, pieces of linen and gingham, twenty coats laced on every seam, and as many laced hats with plumes, twenty barrels of brandy, and as many of wine. Their intention was

to have murdered the men, coming up with these goods.

On the day after the departure of these chiefs, they burnt Mespleix and his two companions.

Lesueur, with his Choctaw force, which on the way had been increased to twelve hundred, arrived on the twenty-eighth, in the evening. Rumors, whom he had sent ahead, met him with the information that the Natchez were not at all aware of his approach, quite out of their guard, and spending their time in dancing and carousing. The intelligence soon spreading in Loubois' camp, he was absolutely unable to retain his Indians, as he was ordered to do, until he was joined by Loubois, with the army from New Orleans.

At day break, on the twenty-ninth, the Choctaws, in spite of their leader's entreaties, fell on the Natchez, and after a conflict of about three hours, brought away sixty scalps, and eighteen prisoners—they liberated the carpenter and tailor, with fifty-one women and children, and one hundred and six negroes. They had only two men killed, and eight wounded. After the battle, they encamped on St. Catherine's creek.

The issue of this attack inspired the Natchez with terror. They upbraided the Choctaws for their perfidy and treachery; attesting their solemn promise to join in the conspiracy and afford their aid, in the total destruction of the French.

Loubois came up on the eighth of February. The six hundred men of the regular force and militia, he had taken at New Orleans, had been joined on the way to bayou Tunica by one hundred others, and had found there two hundred French; and three hundred Indians of the Oumas, Chetimachas and Tunicas had joined the army on its march to the Natchez, so that it consisted of upwards of fourteen hundred men.



mostly white. The impatience and indocility of the friendly Indians, the now great relative number of the red people, the fatigue of the march, the scarcity of ammunition, which the Indians either wasted or purloined, the strong resistance of the Natchez, who had entrenched themselves and fought like desperadoes, induced Loubois, on the seventh day after the opening of the trenches, to listen to the proposals of the besieged, who threatened, if he persisted, to burn the white women and children still in their possession, and offered to surrender them, if the eleven field pieces he had were withdrawn. There were not in the whole army one man that could manage them, and the only hope entertained of them was, that they might scare the Indians.

On the twenty-fifth, the terms were accepted; and all the prisoners being sent to Loubois' camp, the army moved to the bluff and erected a small fort to keep the Indians in awe, and protect the navigation of the river.

Loubois deemed it necessary, before the departure of the army, to make an example of three of the negroes, who had been the most active and forward in inducing the rest to join the Natchez. They were accordingly delivered to the Choctaws, who burnt them with a cruelty that inspired the others with the greatest horror for the Indians, and the resort to which certainly found an apology in the circumstances of the case.

The inhabitants of New Orleans received with open arms, in the bosom of their families, the widows and children of their friends, who had fallen under the tomahawk of the Natchez. Benevolence relieved their wants, and tenderness ministered those succours, which protracted captivity and sufferings called for. The nuns opened their cloister to the

orphans of their sex; those of the other were divided into the families of the easy and affluent, and many a matron listened to solicitations to put an early end to her widowhood.

The Chickasaws had offered an asylum in their nation to the Natchez; it had been accepted by a number of them. Having thus aided the enemies of the French, they sought to increase their number, and sent emissaries to the Illinois to induce them to join in the common cause. These Indians replied they would assist their white friends on the Mississippi with all their might, and they sent a deputation to Perrier to assure him of the dependence he could put in their nation, of their sorrow at the catastrophe at the Natchez, and their readiness to lose their lives in the defence of his countrymen.

They returned in the latter part of June to join the Arkansas, in order to fall on the Yazous and Coroas. A party of the latter, going to the Chickasaws, were met by one of the Tchaoumas and Choctaws, who killed eighteen of them, and released some French women and children, they were carrying away. A few days after, a number of Arkansas fell on a party of the Yazous, scalped four men, and took four women, whom they led into captivity. Returning homewards they met several Canadian families going to New Orleans; they bewailed with them the disaster of their countrymen, and particularly the death of father Poisson, who had been their missionary before he moved to the Yazous: they vowed that, as long as an Arkansas lived, the Natchez would have an enemy.

While the northernmost tribes remained thus attached to the French, the smallest ones near the sea, received emissaries from the Chickasaws, and suffered themselves to be deluded, so far as to admit among themselves parties of wandering Indians, who much

distressed the planters, and greatly alarmed the inhabitants of the city. The Chouachas, a very small tribe, who originally occupied the margin of lake Baratavia, had removed to that of the Mississippi, a little below the city, near the English turn, and had proved themselves useful to the French, when they began to occupy the ground on which New Orleans now stands. They were suspected of being under the influence of the Chickasaws, and had become obnoxious to the colonists. Their annihilation was judged indispensable to the tranquillity of the country, and was determined on. The slaves of the neighbouring plantations were incautiously employed in this service, under the idea that the warfare would sow between them and the Indians, the seeds of such mutual hatred, as would ever prevent a coalition between the red and black people. The negroes acquitted themselves with great fury; indiscriminately massacring the young and the old, the male and the tenderer sex.

On the tenth of August, the people of New Orleans received the pleasant intelligence of the arrival at the Balize a few days before, of a company's ship with troops and succour, under the orders of Perrier de Salvart, a brother of the commandant general. Much of their joy however was abated when it became known that there were but three companies of marines on board, each of sixty men.

The company kept in the province six hundred and fifty men of French troops, and two hundred of the Swiss. With this reinforcement, the total barely exceeded one thousand men—a relatively powerful body, if there had been but one settlement to protect; but a very insufficient one, while the establishments were sprinkled over a wide extended territory.

Chagrined at this disappointment, the commandant

general made an excursion to Mobile to seek aid among the friendly tribes near Fort Conde.

On his return, he issued a proclamation conjuring every able bodied man, not already under arms, to buckle a knapsack on his back, put a musket on his shoulder and join the army. But little could be expected from this appeal; the whole militia from the Alibamons to the Cadodquious and from the Balize to the Wabash, not exceeding eight hundred men.

Most of the Natchez Indians, who had not gone over to the Chickasaws, had crossed the Mississippi, and marched through the country of the Washitas to the neighbourhood of the Natchitoches, and on Black river.

The departure of the army was delayed by a most distressing event. The negroes who had been employed in destroying the Chouachas, in returning to their labours, began to feel more sensibly the weight and the success of the ferocity they had of their chain exercised against the Indians, gave a hope that liberty might be the result of a similar attempt upon the French. But, their views were discovered, and the arrest and execution of their leaders warded for a while the impending blow.

The Arkansas had promised to come down and join Perrier's force. He now sent a Canadian of the name of Coulange to meet them, and directed Beaulieu to proceed to Red river and obtain information of the spot to which the enemy had retired, his force and intended movements.

Perrier de Salvart, with the van-guard of the army, embarked on the thirteenth of November. It consisted of the three companies of the marines, a few volunteers and Indians; in all about two hundred and fifty. The commandant general sat off two days after with the main body, not larger than the van, com-

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posed of regulars and volunteers. Benac, who commanded the militia, led the rear, which did not exceed one hundred and fifty. The late alarm rendered it necessary that the forts should continue to be well garrisoned, to insure tranquillity and awe the slaves.

The army stopped on the right side of the Mississippi, opposite to Bayou Manshac, where a Colapissa chief led forty warriors. It now consisted of about seven hundred men.

Lesueur was sent forward and ordered to ascend Red river. On his way, he received the painful intelligence of the Natchez having surprised Coulange and Beaulieu, killed the former and wounded the latter. Of the twenty-five men who accompanied them, sixteen had been killed or wounded. The Arkansas had come down, according to their promise; but not hearing of the army, grew impatient and returned. He immediately communicated the intelligence to his chief.

Perrier, having ordered the army to proceed to the mouth of Red river, stopped at Bayou Tunica, to join the Indians, who had been directed to rendezvous there; one hundred and fifty warriors only met him. He joined the army with these on the fourth of January.

His whole force now consisted of about one thousand men. He ascended Red and Black rivers, and on the twentieth came in sight of one of the enemy's forts, on the banks of the latter. The trenches were immediately opened, and the artillery landed on the following day. On the next, the enemy made a sally, wounded an officer, and killed a soldier and a negro. On the twenty-fifth, a white flag was hoisted on the fort and a similar one displayed on the trenches; soon after, an Indian came out with a calumet, suing for

peace and offering to surrender every negro in the fort. Perrier told him he would receive the negroes, and if the Indians wished for peace, they should send the chiefs to speak with him. The messenger replied the chiefs would not come out; but if Perrier would come forth to the head of the trenches, the chiefs would meet him there. He was directed to go and fetch the negroes, and an answer would be given on his return.

Half an hour after, he brought eighteen negro men and one woman, and said the chiefs would not come out—that peace was wanted, and if the army would return, hostilities would cease. Perrier replied no proposal would be listened to, until the chiefs came to speak with him, and if they did not, the attack would be resumed, and quarters given to no one.

The messenger went back, and returning soon after, said the warriors insisted on the chiefs not coming out, and except on this head, were ready to accede to any proposition. Perrier told him the cannon were ready, and he still insisted on the chiefs coming out—that if they compelled him to fire, he would not stop till the fort was blown to atoms, and no one would be spared.

On the man's return, a Natchez Indian, of the name of St. Come, a son to the head female sun, and as such heir to the sunship, who had always been on a friendly footing with the French, came to Perrier's camp: he told him that now as peace was made, the French army should return—that he grieved much at the conduct of his nation, but every thing ought to be forgotten: especially, as the prime mover of all the mischief had fallen in the attack of the Choctaws. Perrier told him he was glad to see him, but he desired to see the great sun also, but would not be played with, and he hoped no Natchez Indian would ap-

proach him, except in the company of the latter, as he would order any one to be fired on, who would come with any other proposal.

St. Come took leave, and half an hour after returned with the head sun, and another chief, called the chief of the flour, who was the prime mover of all the mischief; St. Come having sought to screen him.

The Great Sun assured Perrier, he had had no hand in the massacre of the French, and was very much pleased at the opportunity of treating with him; St. Come, exculpated him. The chief of the flour said he was sorry for what had happened. As they were exposed to the rain, which was now increasing, Perrier, pointing to a cabin near them, bid them to take shelter in it: on their doing so, he ordered four men to guard the door, and directed Lesueur and two officers, attentively to watch them.

Lesueur, speaking their language, went in, and attempted to get into a conversation with them; but they kept a stubborn silence and lay down to sleep. The other two officers did the same on their rising, Lesueur went to rest towards mid-night.—About three hours after, he was awakened by a sudden noise, and saw the Great Sun and St. Come, endeavouring to escape from the sentry—the officers and the two other soldiers had gone in pursuit of the chief of the flour, who, having eluded their vigilance, had fled; Lesueur pointing his pistol at the two captives, they refrained from any further attempt to escape.

At day break, an Indian came from the fort to visit the Great Sun: being conducted to the cabin, he told him the chief of the flour: having reached the fort had called apart ten warriors, and assured them, Perrier was determined on burning them all; that for his part he had made up his mind, no longer to remain exposed to fall into his hands, and advised them to look for

their own safety, with him. Accordingly they had followed him, with their women and children, while the rest lost in deliberation, the favourable moments, and at day break found their flight was no longer possible. The Great Sun observed this chief was an usurper.

Perrier bid his prisoner, towards the evening, to send word to his people to come out with their women and children, and he would spare their lives, and prevent his Indians from hurting them. This was done, by the messenger of the morning; but compliance was refused.

In the morning, the Great Sun's wife and some other members of his family visited him. Perrier received them well, because they had afforded protection to the French prisoners. Sixty-five men and about two hundred women came in towards noon.

Word was sent to those in the fort, that, if they did not leave it, the cannon would be fired and no one spared. The Indians replied the fire might begin, and they did not fear death. They were restrained by the fear of falling into the hands of Perrier's Indians, if they went out in small parties, or of being discovered by the French, if they went out together.

The cannonade now began: a heavy rain was falling, and it blew very hard. The besieged flattered themselves with the idea the inclemency of the weather would prevent the passes being strictly guarded; they were not deceived. At dusk, the cannon was stopped: towards eight at night, an officer reported that the enemy was flying; the cannonade was now resumed, but it was too late—a part of the army went after the foe and brought in upwards of one hundred; Perrier vainly tried to induce his Indians to give the chase, they answered those should do so, who had suffered the Natchez to escape. The fort was now



entered and no one found in it but a decrepit old man, and a woman who had just lain in.

There remaining now no enemy to fight, the prisoners to the number of four hundred and twenty-seven, were secured and embarked. The army sat off on the twenty-seventh and reached New Orleans on the fifth of February.

The Great Sun, and the other prisoners were sent immediately to Hispanolia, where they were sold as slaves.

The war was not, however, at an end. Lesueur had ascertained that the Natchez were not all in the fort Perries had besieged. They had yet upwards of two hundred warriors, including the Yazous and Corroas, and an equal number of young lads capable of bearing arms. A chief had lately gone to the Chickasaws with forty warriors and many women: another was with seventy warriors, and upwards of one hundred women and many children on lake Cataloulou, to the westward of Black river. There were twenty warriors, ten women and six children on the Washita: the strength of the party who had gone towards the Natchitoches was not known.

In the mean while, the company finding themselves much diappointed in the hope they had entertained of the profits of their commerce, and the advantages they had imagined would result from their charter; alarmed at the great loss they had sustained at the Natchez, and the great expense necessary to be incurred in the protection and defence of the province, if they retained the possession of it, solicited on the twenty-second of January, 1732, the king's leave to surrender the country and their charter. By an arrest of the council of the following day, and letters patent, which issued thereon, on the tenth of April, the retrocession made by the company of the property, lord-

ship and jurisdiction of the province of Louisiana and its dependencies, together with the country of the Illinois, and the exclusive commerce to those places, was accepted.

The arrest declares the commerce of the retroceded countries free, for the future, to all the king's subjects.

Thus ended the government of the western company. It lasted during about fourteen years—nearly one half of the time elapsed since Iberville had laid the foundation of a French colony on the gulf of Mexico.

When the company received its charter, the settlements in the wide extended country ceded to it, were confined to a very narrow space at the Biloxi, Mobile river, Ship and Dauphine islands. Two very small fortifications had been erected on the Mississippi—the one near the sea, the other at the Natchez, and one at the Natchitoches on Red river.

Agriculture had hardly reared its head, though rice was sowed in the swamps. Horticulture supplied the tables of a few with vegetables, and enabled some of the rest to procure a little money by supplying the Spaniards at Pensacola.

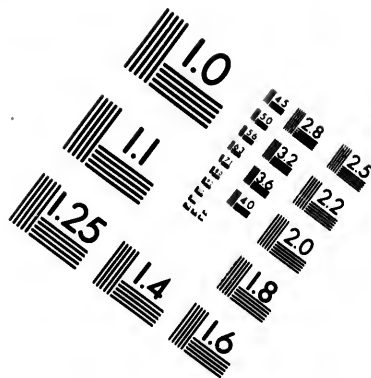
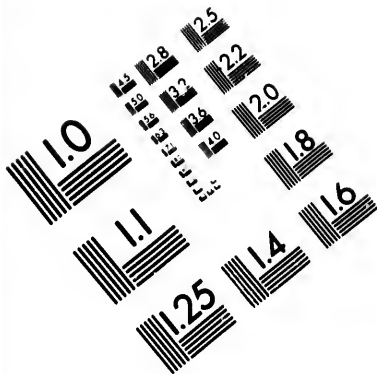
Now all the original settlements had considerably extended their limits, a new one had been formed at the Alibamons. On the Mississippi, the foundation of New Orleans was laid : although there was no plantation below it, a considerable one with a gang of upwards of one hundred slaves had been formed opposite the city, and there were many smaller but still considerable ones at Tchapitoulas and Cannes brûlées. A vast number of handsome cottages, lined both sides of the river at the German Coast; grantees of wide tracts had transported a white population, and sent negroes to Manshac, Baton Rouge and Pointe Coupee, and we have seen a smart settlement had risen at

Natchez, the rival of New Orleans. Higher up, small colonies had gone to the Yazous and Arkansas; while others had descended from Canada to the Wabash and the Illinois.

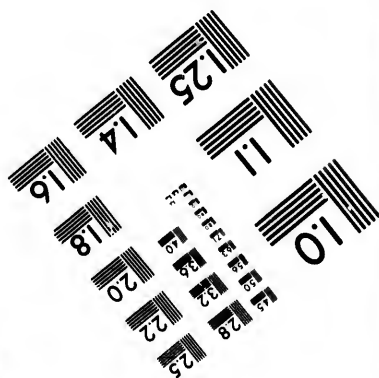
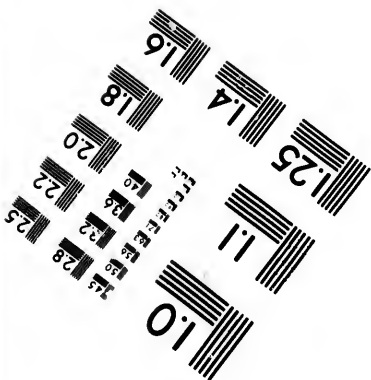
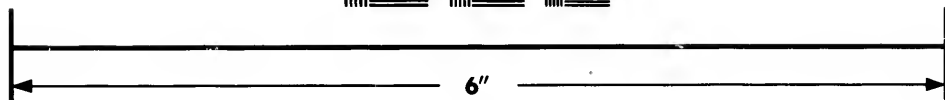
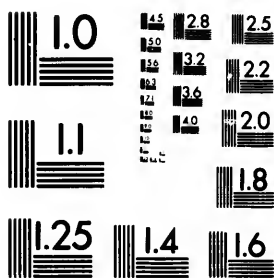
To the culture of rice, that of indigo and tobacco had been added; the forests yielded timber for various uses and exportation; wheat and flour came already down from the Illinois; a smart trade was carried on with the Indians at Natchitoches, Mobile, Alibamons and the Cadadoquious, far beyond the westernmost limits of the present state. Provision had been made for the regular administration of justice; churches and chapels had been built at convenient distances, and without perhaps any exception, every settlement had its clergyman, under the superintendence of a vicar-general of the bishop of Quebec, of whose diocese Louisiana made a part. A convent had been built, the nuns of which attended to the relief of the sick of the garrison, and to the education of the young persons of their sex. The Jesuits had a house in New Orleans; a kind of entrepot of their order, from which their priests were located among the neighbouring tribes of Indians, or sent, as occasional emissaries, to the most distant; and those men attended to the education of youth.

The monopoly which the company and Crozat had enjoyed and strictly enforced, had checked, and it may be said destroyed, the incipient trade the colony had before the peace of Utrecht; but the produce of the tilled land and the forest, the hides, skins, furs and peltries, which were obtained from the Indians, for goods, which were easily procured in the company warehouses at the Biloxi, New Orleans, the Natchez and the Illinois, and which were disposed of at an enormous advance, enabled the company to dispose of considerable quantities of merchandize.





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The sums, spent by the company in the colony, sufficed to furnish the inhabitants with a circulating medium. It had a commandant general, two king's lieutenants, a commissary ordonnateur, six hundred and fifty men of French, and two hundred of Swiss troops, in its pay. Besides a number of directors, agents and clerks, it supported upwards of thirty clergymen.

According to the system of all commercial companies, the supreme authority in the province resided in the directors and agents of the corporation; and the military, incessantly controlled by men whose pursuit was wealth, not glory, lost their activity and zeal. A conflict of powers necessarily created dissensions and animosities, fatal to the interest of the company and the province.

It cannot, however, be denied, that while Louisiana was part of the dominions of France, it never prospered, but during the fourteen years of the company's privilege.

The white population was raised from seven hundred to upwards of five thousand, and the black from twenty to two thousand.

*Charlevoix.—Laharpe.—Vergennes.—Dupratz.—Archives.  
Lettres edifiantes.*

## CHAPTER XII.

*Salmon takes possession of the province for the king.—Property of the company purchased.—Redemptioners and muskets.—Superior council re-organized.—The Natchez are repulsed at Natchitoches.—Negro plot.—Exemption from duties.—Military peace establishment.—Georgia settled.—War in Europe.—Bienville re-appointed governor.—Troops.—Furloughs and grants of land.—Scarcity of provisions.—Card money.—Irruption of the Natchez.—Bienville prepares to march against them.—Conspiracy among the soldiers at Tombeckbee.—Bienville's unsuccessful attack on a fort of the Chickasaws.—The Chevalier d'Artaguet.—Spanish hostilities against the British in the West Indies.—The French cabinet approves the plan of a new expedition against the Chickasaws.—Peace in Europe.—The garrison of St. Augustine reinforced.—Bienville at the head of the colonial force ascends the Mississippi.—Detachments from Canada and the Illinois.—Injudicious delay.—Disease.—Famine.—Celeron marches against the westernmost fort of the Chickasaws.—They sue for peace.—Bienville destroys his forts and the army returns.—Death of Charles VI.—Maria Theresa.—War in Europe.*

SALMON, who on the death of Lachaise, had succeeded him in the office of Commissary Ordonnateur, having been appointed the king's commissioner, received possession of Louisiana in his name, from the company.

The company had purchased all the property of the corporation in the province. It was not considerable, and the appraised inventory of it, amounted only to



two hundred and sixty-three thousand livres; not equal in value to sixty-thousand dollars. It consisted of some goods in the warehouses, a plantation opposite the city, which was partly improved as a brick yard, on which were two hundred and sixty negroes, fourteen horses and eight thousand barrels of rice.

The negroes were valued at an average of seven hundred livres or one hundred and sixty three dollars and a third: the horses at fifty-seven livres or twelve and a half dollars, and the rice three livres or sixty-six cents and a third, the hundred weight. At these prices, nineteen hundred weight of rice were given for a horse; at the present value of rice, four cents a pound, the animal was worth seventy-six dollars, and the negro nearly one thousand.

The company had contracted a considerable debt, with the planters, and obtained on the fourteenth of February, an arrest of the king's council, inhibiting creditors in Louisiana from suing in France. Brusle and Bru. two members of the superior council, were appointed commissioners to receive claims against it, in the province.

In order to facilitate the commerce of the colony, the king, by an ordinance of the fourth of August, dispensed the vessels of his subjects, trading thither, with the obligation of transporting redemptioners and muskets, which was imposed on those trading to his other American colonies.

The late change in the government of the province requiring one in the organization of the superior council, this was effected by the king's letter patent of the seventh of May. The members of this tribunal were declared to be the Governor General of New-France, of which Louisiana continued to constitute a part, the Governor and the Commissary of Louisiana, the king's lieutenants and the town major

of New Orleans, six councillors, an attorney general and clerk.

The members of the council, at this time, were Perrier, Commandant General; Salmon, Commissary Ordonnateur; Loubois and d'Artaguet, the king's two lieutenants; Benac, town major of New Orleans; Fazende, Brusle, Bru, Lafreniere, Prat and Raguet, Councillors; Fleuriau, Attorney General, and Rossart, clerk.

The Natchez Indians continued to wage war, with the western parts of the province. The chief of the flour, who had effected his escape from Perrier's camp, on Black river, and who had afterwards left the fort with some warriors, their women and children, had been joined by those whom he had left there, and had not fallen into the hands of the French. After wandering a while among the Washitas, this party, increased by other individuals of their nation, proceeded to the Natchitoches. St. Denys, who commanded there, having early information of the approach of the Natchez, and finding his garrison weak, dispatched messengers to New Orleans, the Cadodaguious and Assinais, to solicit succour. Accordingly Loubois left New Orleans with sixty men of the garrison; but as he entered Red river, accompanied by one hundred Indians, whom he had taken at the Tunicas, he was met a little below Black river, early in November by Fontaine, who was sent by St. Denys to Perrier. From him, Loubois learned the Natchez had attacked the fort, being about two hundred; but they had been repulsed.

The Natchitoches had made a show of resistance; but having but forty warriors, they had been compelled to desist, after having lost four men. The Natchez took possession of their village: St. Denys had been reinforced by his allies, on Red river and the Opelousas. With his garrison, a few Spainards and

these Indians, he sallied out, forced an intrenchment, the Natchez had made around their camp, and killed ninety-two of them, among whom were all their chiefs. The rest fled into the woods, and St. Denys' Indians were in pursuit of them, when Fontaine left the fort.

With far less means than the commandant general on Black river, St. Denys had effected in much less time a more brilliant and useful exploit. It put an end to the war of the Natchez. The survivors of the nation sought an asylum among the Chickasaws, with whom they became incorporated. These Indians had hitherto pretended to remain neutral; but now excited by a number of English traders, who had settled among them, avowed themselves the open enemies of the French.

There were at the Natchez, on the plantations of the French, a considerable number of negroes; nearly all of whom had joined the murderers of their masters, in order to gain their freedom, and had followed their new friends among the Chickasaws. This circumstance, and their consequent emancipation, was known to their former companions, who had been recaptured or surrendered, and presented to them the evidence of the possibility of their own release from bondage; they became restless, indocile, and fit subjects to be wrought upon, by persuasion. In the hope of exciting, through them, the other slaves in the colony, to finish the work begun at the Natchez, several of the most artful negroes, among the Chickasaws, were sent to Mobile, New Orleans and along the coast, to sow the seeds of rebellion among the people of their colour, in those places. These emissaries, being unable to shew themselves openly, had no success on the plantations, where the gangs being small, the slaves were fearful. It was in vain urged upon them, the moment was arrived to rid themselves

of their masters, and secure their own freedom, by removing to the Chickasaws, or the English in Carolina.

On the plantation opposite the city, lately the property of the company, but now of the king, there were upwards of two hundred and fifty hands. Several of these were seduced, and the contagion spread with considerable rapidity up the coast, where in the vicinity of the city, there were some estates with gangs of from thirty to forty slaves.

Meetings were held without the notice of the French; the blacks improving the opportunity, unsuspectingly furnished them by their owners, to assemble in nightly parties for dancing and recreation.

At last, a night was fixed on, in which, on pretexes like these, the blacks of the upper plantations were to collect on those near the city, at one time, but on various points, and entering it from all sides, they were to destroy all white men, and securing and confining the women and children in the church, expecting to possess themselves of the king's arms and magazine, and thus have the means of resisting the planters when they came down, and carrying on conflagration and slaughter, on the coast. They hoped to induce or compel, by a shew of strength, the timorous of their colour, who had resisted the temptation to swell their number, and with them join parties of the Chickasaws, who they were assured would advance to receive and protect them. Fortunately, the motions of an incautious fellow were noticed by a negro woman, belonging to a Dr. Brasset; she gave such information to her master as led to the discovery of the plot. Four men and a woman, who were the principal agents in it, were detected and seized. The men were broken on the wheel and their heads stuck on posts, at the upper and lower end of the city, the

Tchakitoulas and the king's plantation: the woman was hung. This timely severity prevented the mischief.

The king extended further encouragement to the trade of the province, by an arrest of his council of the thirteenth of September, exempting from all duties of exportation, all merchandise, shipped by his subjects to Louisiana, and all duties of importation the merchandise of its growth, produce or commerce.

Shortly after, provision was made for its protection and defence, and an arrest of the thirtieth of November ordered a military force to be kept there, consisting of eight hundred men; six hundred and fifty of whom were to be detached from the regiment of Karrer.

The year 1732 is remarkable as the period of the settlement of the last of the British provinces in America, which now constitute the United States. Charity devised the plan and furnished the means for its execution. A society, formed in London, selected a large unoccupied tract of land between the rivers Savannah and Alatomaha, a kind of neutral ground, which separated the provinces of South Carolina and Florida, as a spot on which the suffering poor might find an easy and quiet existence.

The abolition of the company's exclusive right to the trade of Louisiana, and the encouragement lately given to its commerce, excited the industry of the merchants in several of the sea ports of France and her colonies; and several vessels from St. Maloes, Bordeaux, Marseilles and Cape Francois, came to New Orleans, in the course of the following year.

The death of Augustus, king of Poland, in 1733, for a while disturbed the tranquillity of Europe. Louis XV. supported the claim to the crown of Stanislaus, whose daughter he had married in 1725, and was as-

sisted by Spain, but was opposed by the emperor, who upheld the pretensions of the elector of Saxony.

Bienville was this year re-appointed governor of Louisiana. He did not however reach the province until the following year. The colonists hailed the return of their former chief, who had devoted the prime of his life to the service of their country. Perrier, on his arrival, returned to France.

A frigate brought troops to complete the peace establishment of the province, according to the arrest of the king's council of the month of November.

For the double purpose of promoting the king's service, and the extension of agriculture in Louisiana, it was provided by an arrest of the king's council of the month of August 1734, that there should be annually granted to two soldiers, in each of the companies of French troops serving there, a furlough and a tract of land, subject to a yearly quit rent of a sous for every four acres. It was stipulated that the grantees should, within three years, clear such a part of the land as the governor should designate, and during that period, their pay and rations were continued to them.

The Swiss soldiers were likewise entitled to such a grant, at the expiration of the time for which they had been enlisted.

We have seen the king kept six hundred and fifty soldiers in the province. They were divided into thirteen companies of fifty men each, which gave annually twenty-six new farmers. The Swiss companies gave four, in the same period.

In the French troops, the selection was made by the governor, from the soldiers who conducted themselves the best. This proved a valuable measure, promoting good order among the men, and extending agriculture. Those, who thus quitted the sword for the plough, became in time the heads of orderly fami-

lies, and many of their remote descendants are now persons of wealth and respectability.

The French and Spanish arms had this year great success in Italy; Don Carlos, the youngest son of Philip the fifth, who afterwards was Charles the third of Spain, entered the kingdom of Naples, at the head of thirty thousand men, and made himself master of it.

Although large quantities of coin were annually sent over for the pay and maintenance of the troops, and the expenses of the colonial government, the means of remittance which agriculture supplied being comparatively few and small, the merchants hoarded up for exportation all the coin they received. The province found itself drained of its circulating medium, to the great injury of its agriculture and internal trade.

By an edict of the king, which bears date the nineteenth of September, 1735, an emission of card money to the amount of two hundred thousand livres, a little more than forty thousand dollars, was ordered to be struck, and declared receivable in the king's warehouses for ammunition or any thing sold there, or in exchange, annually, for drafts on the treasury of the marine in France.

This measure had been solicited by the colonists; cards were accordingly struck of the value of twenty, fifteen, ten and five livres; fifty, twenty-five, twelve and a half, and six and a quarter sous—answering to the emissions of the British provinces of four, three, two and one dollar, halves, quarters and eighths of a dollar.

They bore the king's arms, and were all signed by the comptroller of the marine, at New Orleans. Those of fifty sous and more were also signed by the governor and ordonnateur—the others had the *paraphe* or flourish of these two officers only.

The cards were declared a tender in all payments whatever.

The Natchez and Yazous, who had found refuge among the Chickasaws, now resumed their predatory war, on the distant settlements of the colony, and greatly obstructed its communication by the Mississippi, to the Illinois, the Wabash and Canada. A number of Chickasaws generally accompanied these marauding parties. As the province could enjoy no tranquillity while such outrages were not suppressed, Bivenille sent an officer, to the principal village of the Chickasaws to insist on the surrender of the Natchez. He was informed these Indians could not be given up, as they had been received by, and incorporated with, the Chickasaw nation. He determined to go and take them, and ordered immediate preparations for an expedition.

For this purpose, he directed the Chevalier d'Artaquette, who was now in command at Fort Chartres of the Illinois, to collect as many French and Indians as he could, and march them down to the country of the Chickasaws, in order to join the troops from New Orleans and Mobile, about the tenth of May.

Leblanc, who was the bearer of these orders to the chevalier, was sent up with five boats laden with provisions and ammunition for Fort Chartres. He successfully resisted the attack of a party of the enemy near the Yazou river. He reached that of the Arkansas, where he landed part of the loading of his boats, which had been too heavily laden. On his reaching Fort Chartres, one of the boats was sent for the provisions left at the Arkansas; but the Indians, who had attacked him on his way up, fell on this boat and killed every man on board, except a lieutenant called Dutisne, who commanded the party, and a half breed of the name of Rosaly.



In the meanwhile, another officer had gone among the Choctaws, for the purpose of inducing some of the chiefs, in the several villages of that nation, to meet Bienville at Fort Conde.

At this meeting, the French chief purchased the aid of his red allies, for a quantity of goods, a part of which he brought from New Orleans and now delivered to them. The Choctaw chiefs engaged to collect the warriors of their nation and bring them to the standard of the French; and Bienville returned to New Orleans to hasten the march of the force he had directed to be assembled.

A sufficient number of the militia was left in the forts, and two companies marched with the regulars and some negroes, whom it was not thought imprudent to trust with arms. This force was embarked on the bayou St. John in thirty boats, and as many large pirogues. Bienville reached Fort Conde with it on the tenth of March.

He had before sent a strong detachment, under the orders of Lusser, to throw up a small work on the bank of the river, at the distance of two hundred and fifty miles above Fort Conde, and on the same side of the stream, in order to have a safe place of deposit for the provisions, arms and ammunition that had been sent up for the use of the Choctaws. Here some of Lusser's men, instigated by a sergeant of the name of Montfort, formed the design of availing themselves of the facility, presented by their great distance from the settlements of the French, to release themselves from subjection, by murdering their officers, and seeking refuge among the Chickasaws, whom they were sent to combat, or among the English in Carolina, through the desert. The plot was luckily discovered, at the moment on which it was to have been executed. The sergeant and five men were

arrested, but Lusser postponed their trial till the arrival of his chief.

The army had left Fort Conde on the fourth of April, and reached Tombeckbee on the twentieth; a court martial immediately sat on the prisoners, and they were shot. A few days after, the Choctaws, who had been engaged as auxiliaries, joined Bienville, and he delivered to them the balance of the goods he had promised.

Incessant rains and inclement weather prevented the army from leaving Tombeckbee before the fourth of May, and three weeks elapsed before it reached the spot on which it was intended to land. Some time was now spent in erecting a shed for the reception and protection of a part of the provisions and warlike stores, and a few huts for the accommodation of the sick. Here another party of the Choctaws joined the army: the number of these auxiliaries was now twelve hundred.

The nearest village of the Chickasaws was at the distance of twenty-seven miles to the north east. A sufficient force being left to protect the sick and stores, the army marched, in two columns, on the twenty-fifth: the Choctaws were on the flanks. A halt was made for the night at the distance of seventeen miles; at day break, the troops started in perfect order and silence and came in sight of the village towards noon: a strong fort had been erected before it. The Choctaws yelling ran forward, in the hope of surprising some of the Chickasaws, but without success.

Bienville, at half past one, formed his army into a regular square: as it approached the fort in this order, he ordered it to halt, and directed the major part of the regulars and militia to form strong detachments and march to the attack. The British flag was flying over the fort, and a few individuals of that nation

were perceived in it. Fire had been set to a few cabins near the fort, from which the French might be annoyed; they advanced ten deep, shouting *vive le roy*, but were much distressed by the smoke from the cabins, which the wind blew in their faces. The fort now began a galling fire; a lieutenant, a sergeant and two men were killed, and Renaud d'Auterive, an officer of the militia, was severely wounded. The Chickasaws were in a strong fort, surrounded with a thick palissado full of loop holes, from which they poured forth an incessant shower of balls; strong and thick planks, covered with earth, formed over the palissado, a covering impenetrable to the grenade. The French were unprotected and fell back. They soon advanced again; but the fire from the fort made a great havock, while they fired in vain against the palissado. At five o'clock, Bienville seeing Noyant, Lusser, Jussau, and Girondel, four of his best officers, and many others disabled, and the ammunition of his men nearly exhausted, without the hope of success, ordered a retreat, and sent a strong detachment to support it. It was made in good order. The loss was thirty-two killed and sixty-one wounded. The force employed joined the rest, without being able to bring away the bodies of their dead.

The evening was employed in throwing up a small entrenchment around the camp. In the morning, the French saw the bodies of their countrymen, who fell in the battle, cut into quarters and stuck up on the pickets of the palissado around the fort.

During this day, the Choctaws had several skirmishes with the Chickasaws.

On the twenty-ninth, the army began to retrograde, and encamped within three miles only of the field of battle, and on the next day, within the same distance from their place of landing, which they reached on

the third day. Bienville, distributing the remainder of his goods among the Choctaws, dismissed them satisfied. Taking in the suite of the army the invalids he had left on the river, he floated down to Fort Conde, where he left a reinforcement in the garrison, and landed the rest of his men on the banks of the bayou St. John, in the latter part of June.

A sergeant of the garrison of the Illinois, who had been made a prisoner by the Chickasaws, succeeded so far in securing the good will of the Indian to whose lot he had fallen, as to obtain his liberty and a sufficiency of provisions, to enable him to reach the settlements of the French. He came to New Orleans on the first day of July. Bienville learned from him the unfortunate fate of the Chevalier d'Artaguet.

This officer was the youngest son of the commissary ordonnateur of that name. He had served with distinction during the war of the Natchez, and had been left by Perrier to command the fort which this chief had directed to be built near the site of the present city of Natchez. In compliance with the orders, which Leblanc had brought him from Bienville, he had left his command at Fort Chartres, with twelve hundred men, chiefly Indians. Warned by the fate of Lesueur, who having brought a body of Choctaws near the fort of the Natchez, had been unable to contain them, till the arrival of the Chevalier de Leubois; d'Artaguet, by occasionally slacking his march, had arrived at the place of rendezvous mentioned in his orders, on the ninth of May; the eve of the very day he was directed to arrive, five days after Bienville had left the small fort at Tombeckbee. He had encamped in sight of the enemy till the twentieth, in anxious expectation of the arrival of Bienville, who did not land until four days after; when his Indians, like the Choctaws at the Natchez, grew impatient and unma-

nageable, and absolutely insisted on being allowed to fight or to withdraw. Incapable of restraining his turbulent allies, he had accepted the first alternative, and successfully attacked the fort before which he had encamped. He drove the Chickasaws from it and the village it protected. In the pursuit, the valorous youth had driven them to and out of the next fort, and was chasing them to a third, and perhaps their last, entrenchment, when he received a wound—then another, which threw him on the ground weltering in his blood. His Indians, on the fall of their leader, retreated in all directions. Forty-eight soldiers, the whole of the garrison of Fort Chartres, which d'Artaguette had been able to bring, and Father Senac, its chaplain, stood by, and for a while defended their prostrated leader. But, what could the deserted few do? They were overpowered, and the Indians led their prisoners to the fort on which, had fate spared d'Artaguette but a few minutes, he would have planted the white banner. His companions washed and dressed his wounds, and his recovery was speedy. For a while, the Chickasaws treated their captives well: they knew Bienville was advancing with a strong force, and promised themselves great advantages from the possession of the French, and at least a large ransom. But the reports of the arrival and retrogade of the French army were simultaneous, and the foe, elated by success and security, dragged out his unlucky victims to a neighbouring field, bound the chevalier and the father to the same stake, and tying his courageous adherents, four by four around their worldly and spiritual leaders, extending protection to the sergeant only, consumed their victims, by a slow and often interrupted fire.

Vessels from France, St. Domingo and Martinico, frequently came to New Orleans; and early in the

next year the king extended a further encouragement to the commerce of the province, by permitting the exportation of any article of its produce to the West India Islands, and the importation of that of these islands, to Louisiana, during ten years. The royal edict is of February, 1737.

The Spaniards at this time began to make great depredations on the commerce of Great Britain in the West India seas. Their guarda costas seized a number of vessels of that nation, which they carried into the ports of the main, the island of Cuba and Hispaniola, for condemnation, under the pretence that they were engaged in a contraband trade, with the colonies of Spain.

Bienville, on his return from the unsuccessful expedition against the Chickasaws, planned a new one, in which he proposed to reach their country, by the Mississippi. He communicated his views to the minister, who submitted them to the chevalier de Beauharnois (the father of the first husband of the Empress Josephine) then Governor General of New France.

Louis XV. was not successful, in the war he had undertaken, to place his father-in-law, on the throne of Poland. Tranquillity was momentarily restored to Europe by the peace of 1738, which left the Elector of Saxony in possession of the crown, and Don Carlos, king of Naples. Stanislaus, however, was permitted to retain the title of king, and became Grand Duke of Lorraine and Bar. While the war that had been waged between the emperor and the kings of France and Spain, was thus brought to a close, the latter sovereign, began preparations for hostilities against Great Britain, and the garrison of St. Augustine received a very considerable reinforcement.

with the view of an attack on the contiguous new British province of Georgia, which Philip V. considered as an encroachment on the dominions of his crown, while George II. sent six hundred men there, under the orders of General Oglethorpe.

As soon as Bienville was informed that the minister approved his plan of an attack on the Chickasaws, with a force, which was to ascend the Mississippi from New Orleans, and come down from Canada and the Illinois, he began his preparations. It is not easy to discover, on what ground better success was promised, in this way, than by an approach of the enemy's country up the river Mobile: the greatest fort of the country of the Indians, was to the west of that river—and an army, landed on the bank of Mississippi, would have to cross the country of the Choctaws, in its whole width. It is true, the latter were friendly Indians—but, though this added much to the security of the forces, it increased equally the trouble, fatigue and expense. By the Mobile, the French landed at once in the centre of the enemy's country.

In the execution of his plans, Bienville ordered a very strong detachment to the river St. Francis, in the present territory of Arkansas, to be immediately employed in building sheds for the reception of the troops, their provisions, arms and ammunition, and a fort for their protection; this spot appearing the most convenient as a place of deposit and a rendezvous, for the forces that might come down from Canada and the Illinois.

In the month of May, of the following year, three of the king's ships, under the command of the chevalier de Kerlerec, landed at New Orleans a few companies of the marines who were commanded by the chevalier de Noailles.

Every thing having been previously arranged, the

chevalier de Noyant, sat off with the van guard a few days after the arrival of the reinforcements. The main body successively followed in large detachments, and Bienville brought up the rear. The army reached the river St. Francis, on the last of June, and without the loss of much time, crossed the stream to the river Margot, on the opposite side, near the spot on which the present town of Memphis, in the state of Tennessee, stands.

The army was first employed in providing the means of conveyance, for the provisions, arms, ammunition and baggage, and in building a fort, which being completed on the fifteenth of August, the day on which the Catholic church celebrates the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin, was called the fort of the Assumption.

Labuissoniere, who had succeeded the unfortunate chevalier d'Artaguet, in the command of Fort Chartres, arrived a few days after, with his garrison, a part of the militia of the Illinois, and about two hundred Indians. He was followed, the next week, by Celeron and St. Laurent, his lieutenant, who commanded a company of Cadets, from Quebec and Montreal, and a number of Canada Indians.

The force from New Orleans, consisted of the Louisiana regulars and militia, the companies of marines, lately landed from France, and upwards of sixteen hundred Indians. So that Bienville found himself at the head of upwards of twelve hundred white, and double that number of Indian and black troops.

This comparatively very large army, unaccountably spent six months in making preparations for its march. In the mean while, the troops lately arrived from France became unhealthy, and many died—the climate had an almost equally deleterious influence on those from Canada. The provisions were now



exhausted, and such was the dearth of them, that horses were slaughtered for food. Early the next year, the regulars and militia of Canada and Louisiana, who had escaped the autumnal disease were prostrated by famine and fatigue, and the chief was compelled to confine his call for service, to his red and black men. They were his only effectual force.

On the fifteenth of March, Celeron marched the remainder of his Canadian Cadets, to whom about a hundred other white soldiers were added, this small body, with the negroes and Indians, began the march towards the village of the Chickasaws, and Celeron was instructed to promise peace to these Indians, if it was asked.

The enemy had been apprised of the arrival of Bienville, with a very large army; and when they perceived the colours of Celeron's company, a few white men and an immense body of Indians, on each flank, they had no doubt that the whole force of Bienville was there. In the terror, which this delusion excited, most of the warriors came out of the fort, and approaching Celeron in an humble posture, begged him to give them peace and vouchsafe to be their intercessor with Bienville; assuring him they would be the inseparable friends of the French; swearing they had been excited to hostilities by the English from Carolina, who had come to their villages; and protesting they had entirely renounced any future connection with them. They said they had lately made two individuals of that nation prisoners and detained them in the fort; they pressed Celeron to send one of his officers to the fort that he might be satisfied of the truth of what they told him: St. Laurent was accordingly sent.

As he entered, the squaws began to yell and scream loudly, and demanded his head. On this, he

was seized and confined in a hut, while the men were deliberating on the demand of the women: at last, the party who deemed it dangerous to grant it, prevailed, and St. Laurent was taken out, and shewn the white prisoners. Pleased at the happy turn the affairs had taken, he promised peace to the Indians, in the name of Celeron. They all followed him to the camp, where the captain ratified his lieutenant's promise.

A deputation of the Chickasaws, joining the French on their retrograde march, Celeron led back his force to the Mississippi, where the calumet was presented, by the Chickasaws, to Bienville. They renewed to him the protestation of their devotion, to the interest of the French, and presented him the two Englishmen. The calumet was accepted, and the deputies were permitted to return.

The fort of the Assumption was razed and Labuissonniere and Celeron ascended the river with those of their men, whom disease and famine had spared. The force from New Orleans stopped at the river St. Francis to dismantle the fort, and then floated down to the city.

Thus ended the Chickasaw war, undertaken by Bienville to compel these Indians, to surrender the Natchez, who had found an asylum among the former. Peace was made on the promise of the Indians of one of the villages of the enemy, to be in future the devoted friends of the French—purchased at the price of many valuable lives, at a vast expense besides, and with great distress and toil. The French chief acquired no military glory from the war.

While tranquillity appeared thus restored to Louisiana, that of Europe was disturbed, at the death of the Emperor Charles the sixth, on the twentieth of September, 1740, without male issue. According to

the pragmatic sanction, by which in 1713 it had been provided, that his eldest daughter should succeed him, Maria Theresa ascended his throne. Louis the fifteenth united with Prussia and Poland, in support of the pretensions of the Duke of Bavaria, to the imperial sceptre, and the dogs of war were let loose.

The chevalier de Beauharnois, Governor General of New France, was succeeded by the count de la Gallissoniere.

*Charlevoix.—Laharpe.—Vergennes.—Dupratz.—Archives.*

## CHAPTER XIII.

*The Marquis de Vaudreuil.—Superior Council.—Georgia.—Nova-Scotia.—War.—Irruption from Canada.—Paper securities.—The Island of Cape Breton taken.—D'Anville's fleet.—Ferdinand, VI.—Hurricane.—Dearth.—Relief from the Illinois.—Overseer of the high ways.—Surveyor General.—Olivier Duvezin.—Civil Regulations.—Peace of Aix-la-chapelle.—Redemptioners and muskets.—Larouilliere.—Ohio Company.—Complaint of the Governor General, of New-France.—Quota of troops in Louisiana.—The culture of tobacco encouraged.—British traders among the Twigtwees arrested.—Exemption of duty.—Recruits from France.—Sugar Cane.—Myrtle Wax.—Irruption of the Chickasaws.—Vaudreuil marches into their country.—A fort built on French creek—Governor Dinwiddie.—Major Washington.—Kerlerec.—Descloseaux.—Jumonville.—Villiers.—Fort Necessity.—Murder of the Commandant on Cat Island.—Beausejour.—The Acadian Coast.—General Braddock.—Fort Duquesne.—Crown Point and Niagara.—Declaration of War.—The Earl of Loudoun.—The Marquis de Montcalm.—Fort Oswego and William Henry taken by the French, and the Islands of Cape Breton and St. John by the British.—Fort Frontenac.—General Forbes.—Fort Duquesne.—Fort Massac.—Barracks in New Orleans.—Rochemore.—Diaz Arria.—Belot.—Marigny de Mandeville.—Lahoupe.—Ticonderoga.—Crown Point, Niagara and Quebec taken.—Charles III.—George III.—Attakapas, Opelousas and Avoyelles.—Depreciated paper.—Unsuccessful negotiation between Great Britain and France.—The family compact.—Martinico, St. Lucie, Grenada and Havana taken.—Treaty between France and Spain.—Peace of Paris.*

THE Marquis de Vaudreuil, a son of the late Governor General of New France, was in 1741, appointed Governor of Louisiana, and Bienville sailed back to France, much regretted by the colonists. The latter was the youngest son of Lemoyne de Bienville, a gentleman of Quebec, who had seven sons in the service of his sovereign. Bienville, the eldest, fell in battle in Canada. Iberville, Serigny, Sauvolle, Chateauguè and St. Helene, have all been mentioned in this work.—The youngest, to whom the name of the eldest had been given, came, as we have said, to Louisiana, with Iberville, in 1698. He was then twenty two years of age, and a midshipman, in the royal navy. He remained in the province continually, except during the administration of Perrier, and was the chief in command, during most of the time. He was called the father of the country, and deserved the appellation.

The commerce of Louisiana, released from the restraints of the exclusive privilege of the company, now began to thrive. Indigo was cultivated to a considerable extent, and with much success, and with rice and tobacco, afforded easy means of remittance to Europe, while lumber found a market in the West India islands. The Chickasaws were less turbulent; a circumstance attributed to the employment which war gave to the people of South Carolina and Georgia.

The increase of trade caused litigation, and it was deemed necessary to create new officers, in the superior council. Accordingly, the governor and the commissary ordonnateur were, by the king's letters patent of the month of August, 1742, directed to appoint four assessors, to serve for a period of four years in that tribunal. They were to sit and rank after the councillors: but their votes were received

only, in cases in which the record was referred to them to report on when they were called upon to complete a quorum, or in case of an equality of votes. The choice of the two administrators, for the first time, fell on Delachaise, a son of the late commissary ordonnateur, Delalande d'Aspremont, Amelot and Massy.

The Spaniards this year made an unsuccessful attempt on the province of Georgia.

With a view of having that of Nova-Scotia, (which had been restored to Great Britain at the peace of Utrecht) occupied by national subjects, the former French inhabitants had been mostly driven away; three thousand families were brought over, at a great expense defrayed by government, and three regiments were stationed there to protect these people, against the French of Canada and the Indians.

George the second having taken arms, in support of the claim of Maria Theresa to the throne of her father, and having in person gained the famous battle of Dettingen against the allied forces, war was kindled between France and Great Britain.

Hostilities began in America, by frequent irruptions of the French from Canada into Nova-Scotia. A small land and naval force from the island of Cape Breton, afterwards possessed itself of the town of Canceaux, and made its garrison and some of the inhabitants prisoners. A less successful attack was made on Annapolis—the French being driven back by the garrison, which had been reinforced by a strong detachment from Massachusetts. The conquest of Nova-Scotia being a favorite object with the people of Canada, Duvivier was sent to France, to solicit the minister to send out a sufficient force for this purpose.

Louisiana suffered a great deal from the want

of a circulating medium. Card money had caused the disappearance of the gold and silver, circulating in the colony before its emission, and its subsequent depreciation had induced the commissary ordonnateur to have recourse to an issue of *ordonnances*, a kind of bills of credit, which although not a legal tender, from the want of a metallic currency, soon became an object of commerce. They were followed by treasury notes, which being receivable in the discharge of all claims of the treasury, soon got into circulation. This cumulation of public securities in the market, within a short time threw them all into discredit, and gave rise to an *agiotage*, highly injurious to commerce and agriculture.

While Duvivier was gone to France to induce the minister to furnish means for the re-capture of Nova-Scotia, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts had despatched captain Ryall, an officer of the garrison captured at Canceaux, to represent the danger, in which the province of Nova-Scotia stood, to the lords of the admiralty, and press them for some naval assistance. The captain was also charged to present a plan, which Governor Shirley had formed for the surprise and capture of the island of Cape Breton, the possession of which, in the neighbourhood of Newfoundland, enabled the French to annoy the fisheries and commerce of Great Britain. Although nearly eight millions of dollars had been spent by France on the fortifications of that island, the smallness of the garrison, and the vicinity of the British provinces, induced Shirley to conclude it might easily be taken by surprise: the idea had not originated with him, but had been suggested by Vaughan, a merchant of New-Hampshire.

Ryall's mission had no other effect than a direction to the commander of the squadron, in the West In-

dies, to proceed to the north in the spring, to afford protection to the commerce and fisheries of the New-England provinces, and distress those of the French: and the governors were instructed to aid him with transports, men and provisions.

In the meanwhile, Vaughan's plan had been submitted to the legislature of the provinces, and those of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut, had raised about four thousand men, and the governors of the two first colonies, had taken upon themselves, on this occasion, to disregard their instructions, and to give their assent to bills for the emission of paper money.

The colonial forces assembled at Canceaux, towards the middle of April, and were put under the order of Vaughan, and soon after the West India fleet arrived.

A landing on the island was effected a few days after, and while the fleet was cruising off Louisbourg, it fell in with a sixty-four gun ship from France, with five hundred and sixty men, destined for the garrison and an ample supply of provisions and military stores: she was captured, and the land forces soon after compelled the garrison to surrender.

In the mean while, the succour Duvivier had been sent to solicit, had been obtained; seven ships of war, with a considerable land force, sailed from France, in the month of July. They were ordered to stop at Louisbourg, where they were to be joined by a number of volunteers from Canada, for the attack of Nova-Scotia. Information reached the fleet, soon after its departure, of the fall of Louisbourg, and of a British fleet cruising in its vicinity; the plan was abandoned and the fleet returned into port.

Great preparations were made by both nations, in the following year. The British determined on



simultaneous attacks on Canada, from sea and the lakes, and a very considerable force was collected for this purpose. The French equipped a large fleet under the Duke d'Anville, for the re-capture of the island of Cape Breton and Nova-Scotia; but like the Spanish armada, this fleet was, if not destroyed, dispersed by the winds and the waves: most of the ships were disabled. The apprehension which its approach excited, induced the British to turn towards the protection of their own territories the forces they had assembled for the reduction of Canada.

Philip the fifth of Spain ended his second reign and his life, in the sixty-third year of his age, on the ninth of July, and was succeeded by his second son, Ferdinand the sixth, having himself, been succeeded by, and succeeded, his first.

Louisiana was this year visited by a destructive hurricane, which laid the plantations waste, and totally destroyed the rice crop. This article was used in most families, as a substitute for bread. The consequent distress was greatly encreased by the capture of several vessels, that had sailed from France, with provisions. The province was, however, relieved by large supplies of flour, from the district of the Illinois, amounting it is said to four thousand sacks. This part of the province was already, at this period, of considerable importance. In a letter to the minister, Vaudrenil wrote, "we receive from the Illinois flour, corn, bacon hams, both of bear and hog, corned pork and wild beef, myrtle and bees wax, cotton, tallow, leather, tobacco, lead, copper, buffalo, wool, venison, poultry, bear's grease, oil, skins, fowls, and hides. Their boats come down annually, in the latter part of December and return in February."

War drew off the attention of the people of South

Carolina and Georgia ; and the Indians, left to themselves, did not annoy the distant settlements of the French, and that in the neighbourhood of Fort Chartres was in a very flourishing condition.

The extension of agriculture and commerce drew the attention of government to the roads in the colony, and regulations were made for their construction and repairs. The office of overseer of the high-ways was created and given to Olivier Duvezin, who was also appointed the king's surveyer general in the province. His commission bears date the month of October 1747.

The incapacity of many of the persons who had been appointed, principally in the distant posts, to make inventories of estates of the deceased and similar acts, joined to the impossibility often of finding any person to be appointed, had caused, in many instances, the omission of the formalities required by law ; great inconvenience had resulted from the necessity imposed on the superior council, of declaring some of these acts absolutely null. On the representations of the colonists, a remedy for this evil was sought, and a declaration of the king's council of the thirteenth of March, 1748, provided that any inventory or other instrument, made in any of the posts of the province, in which there was no public officer, and even in those in which there was such an officer as in New Orleans, Mobile and the Illinois, where the legal formalities were omitted, should be valid, provided there was no fraud ; and such inventory or other public instrument should, within the year after the publication of the declaration, be presented to the superior council, and on the motion of the attorney general, recorded, in order to prevent litigation, and promote the peace of families.

New Orleans, Mobile and the Illinois being the

only places in the province, where public officers resided, it was directed that elsewhere, inventories and other public acts might in future be made by two notable inhabitants, attended by an equal number of witnesses, and within the year transmitted for registry to the superior council in New Orleans, or the inferior tribunals in Mobile, or the Illinois.

The winter was this year so severe, that all the orange trees were destroyed—a misfortune of which this is the first instance on record.

The peace of Aix la Chapelle, on the eighteenth day of October, settled the dissensions of Europe and put an end to the warfare between Canada and New England. Maria Theresa was recognised as Empress, and Don Carlos, the third son of Philip, retained the crown of the two Sicilies. Louis XV. and George II. agreed that all conquests made during the war should be restored, and the French re-possessed the island of Cape Breton.

The provision made by the treaty of Utrecht for defining the boundary between Canada and Acadia, had not been carried into effect. The cabinet of Versailles urged that by the cession of Acadia, nothing had been yielded, but the peninsula formed by the bay of Fundy, the Atlantic and the gulf of St. Lawrence—that of St. James claimed all the land to the south of the river St. Lawrence. Unfortunately, measures were not taken, at the pacification of Aix la Chapelle, to remove this source of controversy.

On the twenty-fifth of November, the king prolonged for six years, the exemption he had granted to vessels trading to Louisiana, from carrying thither the number of redemptioners and muske's, which were required to be taken to his other American colonies.

Larouilliere, succeeded Salmon as Commissary Ordonnateur, in the latter part of the following year.

Several individuals in England and Virginia had associated themselves, under the style of the Ohio company for the purpose of carrying on the Indian trade, and effecting a settlement on the land bordering on that stream. They obtained from the crown a grant of six hundred thousand acres of land, on the western side of the Alleghany mountains. Their surveyors and traders soon crossed the ridge, and erected block houses and stores among the Indians.— The Marquis de la Jonquiere, who had succeeded the Count de la Gallissoniere in the government of New-France, considering the country thus occupied as part of the dominions of his sovereign, complained to governor Colden, of New York and governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, of what he viewed as an encroachment, and assured them that, if this notice was disregarded, he should deem it his indispensable duty to arrest the surveyors and traders, and to seize the goods of the latter.

The French had then a large force at Presquisle on Lake Erie, and small detachments on French creek and the Alleghany river, and were making preparations for building a considerable fort, at the confluence of the latter stream and the Monongahela, the spot on which now stands the town of Pittsburg. This fort, with those on lake Ontario, at Niagara, the Illinois, the Chickasaw bluffs, the Yazous, Natchez, Pointe Coupee and New Orleans, was intended to form a connecting line, between the gulfs of St. Lawrence and Mexico.

The quota of troops for the service of the province, on the peace establishment, was fixed by an arrest of the king's council dated the 30th of September 1750, at eight hundred and fifty men, divided into seventeen companies.

The agriculture of the province was favoured by

an arrangement with the farmers general of the kingdom, who agreed to purchase all the tobacco, raised in Louisiana, at thirty livres the hundred, equal to six dollars and two thirds.

The remonstrances of the Marquis de la Jonquiere to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania having been disregarded, he put his threats into execution, by the seizure of the persons and goods of several British traders among the Twigtwees.

The king had favoured in 1731, the commerce of his subjects to Louisiana, by exempting all merchandize sent to, or brought from the province, from duty, during a period of ten years, and the exemption had in 1741, been extended for a like period. It was by an arrest of the king's council, dated the last of September, farther prolonged during a third period of the same duration: but with regard to foreign merchandize sent there, it was restricted to salt beef, butter, tallow and spices.

Two hundred recruits arrived from France on the seventeenth of April, for the completion of the quota of troops allotted to the province. The king's ships, in which they were embarked, touched at the cape, in the island of Hispaniola, where, with a view of trying with what success the sugar cane could be cultivated on the banks of the Mississippi, the Jesuits of that island were permitted to ship to their brethren in Louisiana, a quantity of it. A number of negroes, acquainted with the culture and manufacture of sugar, came in the fleet. The canes were planted on the land of the fathers immediately above the city, in the lower part of the spot now known as the suburb St. Mary. Before this time, the front of the plantation had been improved in the raising of the myrtle wax shrub; the rest was sown with indigo.

The myrtle wax shrub is very common in Louisi-

ana, Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas and Virginia, and not rare in the more northern states on the Atlantic. It bears grapes of very diminutive bluish berries, the seeds of which are included in a hard, oblong nucleus, covered by an unctuous and farinaceous substance, easily reducible into wax. In November and December, the berries, being perfectly ripe, are boiled in water, and the wax detaches itself and floats on the surface. It is then skimmed off and suffered to cool. It becomes hard and its colour a dirty green: after a second boiling, the colour becomes clearer. The candles made of this wax exhale, in burning, a very pleasant odour. Unsuccessful attempts have been made to bleach it. It is apt to crack, and is rendered tenacious, by being mixed with tallow or soft wax.

The ships landed also sixty poor girls, who were brought over at the king's expense. They were the last succour of this kind, which the mother country supplied. They were given in marriage to such soldiers whose good conduct entitled them to a discharge. Land was allotted to each couple with a cow and calf, a cock and five hens; a gun, axe and hoe. During the three first years, rations were allowed them, with a small quantity of powder, shot and grain for seed.

Macarty, on the twentieth of August, went with a small detachment to take command of Fort Chartres of the Illinois, left vacant by the death of the unfortunate chevalier d'Artaguet. This district had, at this period, six villages; Kaskaskias, Fort Chartres, Caokias, Prairie des rochers, St. Philip and St. Genevieve.

Tranquillity being now restored to the British province, traders from the southernmost, poured in their goods, and erected stores and block houses, in the

villages of the Indians, on their back settlements; and those of the French on Mobile and Alibamon rivers began to be distressed by the renewed irruptions of the Chickasaws. In consequence thereof, the Marquis de Vaudreuil marched into their country at the head of a body of seven hundred men of the regular forces and militia, and a large number of Indians. He was not very successful: the enemy had been taught by the British to fortify their villages. Each had a strong block house, surrounded by a wide and deep ditch. The colony was badly supplied with field artillery and soldiers skilled in the management of the pieces. The Marquis lost little time in laying sieges, but wandered through the country, laying the plantations waste. He enlarged the fort of Tombecbee, left a strong garrison in it and returned to New Orleans.

The settlements along the Mississippi, above the city and below, as far as the English turn, were now in high cultivation. The Marquis, in a letter to the minister of this year, observed it was almost an impossibility to have plantations near the river, on account of the immense expense, attending the levees, necessary to protect the fields from the inundation of sea and land floods. He recommended that the idea of settling the part of the country below the English turn should be abandoned, till the land was raised by the accession of the soil. He observed there had been an increase of three feet in height, during the last fifteen years.

A detachment from the troops in Canada had been sent under the orders of Legardeur de St. Pierre, a knight of St. Louis, to erect a fort on the western branch of French creek, which falls into the Ohio. This officer, on the twelfth of December, 1753, received by the hands of major Washington of Virginia

(a man whose name will long attract the admiration of the world and forever that of his country) a letter from governor Dinwiddie, summoning him to withdraw, with the men under his command, from the dominions of the British king. He wrote to the governor, he had been sent to take possession of the country, by his superior officer, then in Canada, to whom he would transmit the message, and whose order he would implicitly obey.

In a quarrel between a Choctaw and a Colapissa, the former told the latter, his countrymen were the dogs of the French—meaning their slaves. The Colapissa, having a loaded musket in his hands, discharged its contents at the Choctaw, and fled to New Orleans. The relations of the deceased came to the Marquis de Vaudreuil to demand his surrender: he had in the mean while gone to the German coast. The Marquis, having vainly tried to appease them, sent orders to Renaud, the commandant of that post to have the murderer arrested; but he eluded the pursuit. His father went to the Choctaws and offered himself a willing victim: the relations of the deceased persisted in their refusal to accept any compensation in presents. They at last consented to allow the old man to atone, by the loss of his own life, for the crime of his son. He stretched himself on the trunk of an old tree and a Choctaw severed his head from the body, at the first stroke. This instance of paternal affection was made the subject of a tragedy, by Leblanc de Villeneuve, an officer of the troops lately arrived from France. This performance is the only dramatic work, which the republic of letters owes to Louisiana.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil was this year promoted, and succeeded Duquesne, in the government of New France, and was succeeded, in that of Louisiana by



Kerlerec, a captain in the royal navy;—and Auberville was, on the death of La Rouvilliere, appointed commissary ordonnateur.

On the return of major Washington, the legislature of Virginia, directed a regiment to be raised, of which he was appointed Lieutenant Colonel. He was then in his twenty-second year.

Washington advanced with two companies of his regiment, in the middle of April, 1754, and surprised a party of the French, under the orders of Jumonville, a few miles west of a place then called the Great meadows, in the present county of Fayette, in the state of Pennsylvania, and on the first fire this gentleman fell. He was the only man killed, but the whole party surrendered. The rest of the regiment came up soon after. Colonel Fry, its commander, having died on the way, Washington found himself at the head of it, and was soon after reinforced by detachments from New York and South Carolina.

There was then at Fort Chartres of the Illinois, an officer named Villiers, brother of Jumonville, who hearing of his death, solicited from Macarty, who had succeeded La Buissonniere, in the command of Fort Chartres, to be allowed to go and avenge his brother's death, with the few soldiers that could be spared and a large number of Indians. Villiers descended the Mississippi and ascended the Ohio—Washington, having erected a small fort as a place of deposit to which he gave the name of Fort Necessity, the traces of which are still visible near Union, the chief town of the county of Fayette, was marching towards the confluence of the Monongahela and the Alleghany, where the French were building the fort to which they gave the name of Duquesne. He heard of the approach of Villiers, from the Indians, who said that his followers were as numerous as the

pigeons in the woods, and was advised by his officers to march back to Fort Necessity, which was at the distance of thirteen miles; he yielded to their suggestion. The party had hardly entered the fort, when Villiers approached it, and immediately began a brisk fire, and an engagement now commenced which lasted from ten o'clock till dark, when the assailants offered terms of capitulation, which were rejected: during the night, however, articles were agreed upon. By these Washington having obtained that his men should be allowed to return home with their arms and baggage, surrendered the fort. This was on the now most venerated day, in the American calendar, the fourth of July.

During the summer, some soldiers of the garrison of Cat Island, rose upon and killed Roux, who commanded there. They were exasperated at his avarice and cruelty. He employed them in burning coal, of which he made a traffic, and for trifling delinquencies had exposed several of them, naked and tied to trees in a swamp, during whole nights, to the stings of musquetoos. Joining some English traders in the neighbourhood of Mobile, they started in the hope of reaching Georgia, through the Indian country. A party of the Choctaws, then about the fort, was sent after and overtook them. One destroyed himself; the rest were brought to New Orleans, where two were broken on the wheel—the other, belonging to the Swiss regiment of Karrer, was, according to the law of his nation, followed by the officers of the Swiss troops in the service of France, sawed in two parts. He was placed alive in a kind of coffin, to the middle of which two sergeants applied a whip saw. It was not thought prudent to make any allowance for the provocation these men had received. The Indians seldom losing the opportunity of claiming remunera-

tion, the Alibamons made a demand from Kerlerec, for the pollution of their land by the self destruction of a soldier, who had avoided, in this manner, the dire fate that awaited him. He accordingly made them a present.

In the latter part of this year, Favrot was sent to the Illinois, with four companies of fifty men each, and a large supply of provisions and ammunition.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, on his arrival at Quebec, had received instructions to occupy and establish forts in the country to the south of the river St. Lawrence.

In the spring, as he was preparing to carry these instructions into effect, the British regular forces in Boston, with two provincial regiments, joined the garrison kept in Nova Scotia,—and landing on the main, marched against Beausejour, which was surrendered on the fifth day; and in the summer possession was taken of all the posts of the French, in the disputed territory, and every part of Nova Scotia, as claimed by Great Britain, was conquered.

In the cession of Acadia, Louis the fourteenth had stipulated that his subjects there should be allowed to retain their land on swearing allegiance to Queen Anne. They had declined doing so unqualifiedly, and insisted on such a modification of the formula presented to them, as would dispense them from the obligation of turning their arms against their countrymen, in the defence of the rights of Great Britain to the country. No oath had been imposed on them. Although this indulgence had been complained of in England, no order had been sent either to require an absolute oath of allegiance or to expel those who had refused to take it; so the Acadians considered themselves as neutrals.

The vicinity of a country, with the inhabitants of

which, these people were so intimately connected by the ties of nature, allegiance and national character, who spoke the same language and professed the same religion, prevented them from considering themselves, as of a different country, or as subjects of a different crown. They saw in the neighbouring Canadians a band of brothers, on whose assistance, in an emergency, they might rely, and considered, themselves as equally bound to yield theirs in return. They had, on every occasion, enlisted their feelings their passions and their forces, with these neighbours, and in the late attack against Beausjour, a considerable number of them were found arrayed against the conquerors, under the banner of France.

Nova Scotia is a rocky, barren country. The winter lasts seven months and is of dreadful severity; it keeps the people almost as lifeless and torped state as their vegetables. The summer comes suddenly (for there is no spring) and the heat is greater than is ever felt in England. Perpetual fogs render the country equally unwholesome and unpleasant. It presented so few advantages to new comers that the removal to it of such a number of British subject's, as would give them a preponderance over its former inhabitants, could not soon be effected. The transportation and maintenance of such a body of regular troops, as might keep the latter in awe, was a measure that must necessarily be attended with an expense totally unproportioned to the benefits, which Great Britain could expect from the possession of the country.

It appeared equally dangerous to permit them to depart or stay. For it seemed certain that, if they were left at liberty to chuse the place of their removal. they would set down, as nearly as they could

to the country they should leave, that might could be ready to follow any troops, the government of Canada might send to retake it.

In this dilemma, it was deemed the safest expedient to remove these people, in such a manner as to lessen or destroy, by their division, the danger that might be apprehended from them. They were accordingly, at different periods, shipped off in small numbers to the British provinces to the south of New Jersey. This act of severity, which the circumstances were thought to justify, was not the only one that was exercised against them; their land and goods were taken from them and they were permitted to carry nothing away, but their household furniture and money; of the last article few, very few indeed, had any. It was determined to take from them all means of travelling back; and to deprive them, even of the least hope, as respects this, their fields were laid waste and their dwellings and fences consumed by fire.

Thus beggared, these people were, in small numbers and at different periods, cast on the sandy shores of the southern provinces, among a people of whose language they were ignorant and who knew not theirs, whose manners and education were different from their own, whose religion they abhorred and who were rendered odious to them, as the friends and countrymen of those who had so cruelly treated them, and whom they considered as a less savage foe, than he who wields the tomahawk and the scalping knife.

It is due to the descendants of the British colonists, to say that their sires received with humanity, kindness and hospitality those who so severely smarted under the calamities of war. In every province, the humane example of the legislature of Pennsylvania, was followed, and the colonial treasury was opened

to relieve the sufferers; and private charity was not outdone by the public. Yet, but a few accepted the proffered relief and sat down on the land that was offered them.

The others fled westerly, from what appeared to them a hostile shore—wandering till they found themselves out of sight of any who spoke the English language. They crossed the mighty spine and wintered among the Indians. The scattered parties, thrown off on the coast of every colony from Pennsylvania to Georgia, united, and trusting themselves to the western waters, sought the land on which the spotless banner waved, and the waves of the Mississippi brought them to New Orleans.

The levee and square of that city presented, on their arrival, a spectacle not unlike that they offered, about a quarter of a century before, on the landing of the women and children snatched from the hands of the Natchez. Like these, the Acadians were greeted with tenderness and hospitality; every house in the city afforded a shelter to some of these unfortunate people. Charity burst open the door of the cloister, and the nuns ministered with profusion and cheerfulness to the wants of the unprotected of their sex.

Kerlerec and Auberville allotted a tract of land to each family: they were supplied with farming utensils at the king's expense, and during the first year the same rations were distributed to them out of the king's stores, as to the troops. They settled above the German coast, on both sides of the Mississippi, and in course of time their plantations connected the latter settlement with that of Baton Rouge and Pointe Coupee. It is, at this day, known by the appellation of the Acadian coast.

In the meanwhile, the British, under general Braddock, made on fort Duquesne an unsuccessful attack.

in which the commander lost his life. Governor Shirley of Massachusetts failed also in an attack against the fort of the French at Niagara, and in his advance to lake Ontario. Colonel Johnson of New York made likewise a vain attempt against Crown point on lake Champlain.

Although there had been no actual declaration of war between France and Great Britain, both governments had granted letters of marque, and sent considerable forces to North America.

The Baron de Dieskau, at the head of a small force marched against the British post at Oswego, but was overpowered and defeated.

At last, on the seventeenth of May, George the first published his declaration of war.

This document sets forth, that the injurious proceedings of the French, in the West Indies and North America since the peace of Aix la Chapelle, and their usurpations and encroachments in the Western hemisphere, had been so frequent and notorious, that they manifested a settled design, and undeviating resolution of invariably prosecuting the most efficacious measures for the advancement of their ambitious views, without any regard for the most solemn engagements and treaties.

The King urges that his frequent and serious representations to the cabinet of Versailles, on these reiterated acts of violence, and his endeavours to obtain satisfaction and reparation for the injuries sustained by his subjects, and to guard against the recurrence of similar causes of complaint, have produced nothing but assurances that every thing should be settled according to existing treaties, and particularly that the evacuation of the four neutral islands should be effected, as had been expressly promised to the British ambassador. Yet, the execution of

this promise and the clause of the treaty on which it was grounded had been eluded, on the most frivolous pretences; and the illicit practices of the French government and its officers had been carried to such a degree, that in April 1754, they broke out into open hostilities; and in a moment of profound peace, without any previous remonstrance, a body of French troops openly attacked and captured a British fort on one of the branches of the Ohio.

Hostilities on the Ohio, as we have seen, had been commenced, by the attack of major Washington on the party commanded by Jumonville, in which the latter fell, and the march of Villiers against Fort Necessity was only a matter of retaliation.

It is said, in the manifesto, that notwithstanding this act of hostility, which could only be considered as a signal for war, so sincere was the desire of the king to remain at peace, and so sanguine his hope that the French monarch would disown this act of violence and injustice, that he contented himself with sending over to America such forces only as were necessary to the immediate defence of his subjects, and their protection against new insults or attacks. But, in the mean while, a great naval armament was made in France, and a considerable number of troops were sent to Canada; and although the ambassador of France gave the most specious promises of the speedy arrangement of all existing differences, the real design of his court was to gain time, in order that such reinforcements might reach the armies of France in the new world, as would insure superiority, and enable their prince to execute his unjust and ambitious projects. The king complains that the measures, which were required from him by the necessity of preventing the landing of the French troops in America, were followed by the departure of the French am-



ambassador, the fortifying of Dunkirk, and the gathering of a considerable number of armed men on the coast of France, threatening his subjects with an invasion.

He declares that, in order to avert the impending calamity, and provide for the safety of his kingdom, he was compelled to give orders for the seizure of French vessels. Yet, unwilling to forego the hope, or to throw difficulty in the way, of an amicable adjustment, he had expressly commanded, that the cargoes of these vessels should remain in a state of sequestration. But, the actual invasion of the island of Minorca evinced the determination of the French cabinet not to lend its ear to any amicable proposition, but to prosecute the war it had begun, with the utmost violence, and compel him to abandon the system of moderation, in which he had so long persisted.

Vast preparations were made, under the directions of the Earl of Loudoun, who had succeeded General Abercrombie in the chief command of the king's forces in North America. A considerable number of troops were raised in the New England provinces, and in those of New York and Pennsylvania, and lesser bodies were procured in the southern provinces for the campaign of the next year.

In the meanwhile, the Marquis de Montcalm had arrived in Canada and taken the command of the forces of France.

The earl, notwithstanding his great preparations, did not strike any blow—the marquis with far less means was more successful. In the month of August, he made himself master of Fort Oswego: this post, situated at the mouth of Onondago river, commanded a commodious harbour on lake Ontario. It had been erected by Governor Shirley, with a view to the protection of the country of the five nations, the security of the fur trade, the obstruction of the communica-

tion between the French establishments, and to open a way for the British forces to Niagara and Fort Frontenac. Montcalm's military means not allowing him to keep it, he ordered the British fort to be razed, and told the Indians, his views were not hostile to them—he came into the country for their protection: he wished no strong house to keep them in awe: his nation desired only to live in peace, trade with them and protect them against their enemies, who were those of the French.

The marquis met with an equal success in the attack of Fort William Henry on lake Champlain, which surrendered in the beginning of August.

This year, Auberville died and was succeeded in the office of commissary ordonnateur of Louisiana by Bobé Descloseaux.

The tide of events turned against France in the following year. The British took the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, and razed Fort Frontenac on lake Ontario, during the summer. In the fall general Forbes marched against Fort Duquesne; the French commander, finding himself unable to defend it, embarked his artillery and ammunition, sat fire to the buildings and evacuated it. In the latter part of November, the garrison floated down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans.

In their way, they stopped and built a fort, on the right bank of the former stream, not far from the place at which it falls into the latter. It was called Fort Massac, after the officer, who was left to attend to its erection and to command it.

On the arrival of the forces from Fort Duquesne at New Orleans, new buildings were required for the accommodation of the troops, and Kerlerec began the barracks in the lower part of the city.

Although the essay, which the Jesuits had made

in 1751, to naturalise the sugar cane in Louisiana, had been successful, the culture of it, on a large scale, was not attempted till this year, when Dubreuil erected a mill for the manufacture of sugar, on his plantation, immediately adjoining the lower part of New Orleans--the spot now covered by the suburb Marigny.

Kerlerec, having been directed to have the part of the province, around lake Barataria and along the sea shore, west of the Mississippi, explored. Marie y de Mandeville, a son of the late commandant of Port Conde of Mobile, made an accurate map of the southwestern part of the province.

Overtures towards negociation were made by the cabinet of Versailles, to that of St. James, through the channel of the Danish ambassador in London.

Rochemore, who had been appointed commissary ordonnateur, arrived early in the following year. Soon after his landing, an unfortunate misunderstanding, between him and Kerlerec, disturbed greatly the tranquillity of the colony. It was then the practice of government to send large quantities of goods, for the Indian trade: they were entrusted to the officers sent in command to the distant posts, to whom they furnished the means of considerably increasing their fortunes. The ordonnateur, who had the disposal of these, found in it an opportunity of attaching those officers to his party, which the governor complained, he did not neglect. Each of these chiefs imaginèd he had grounds of recrimination against the other; a considerable degree of irritation was excited, and a circumstance of no great moment brought matters to a crisis.

Diaz Anna, a Jew from Jamaica, came to New Orleans, on a trading voyage. We have seen that by an edict of the month of March 1724, that of Louis

the thirteenth, of the 13th of April, 1615, had been extended to Louisiana. The latter edict declared that Jews, as enemies of the christian name, should not be allowed to reside in Louisiana; and, if they staid in spite of the edict, their bodies and goods should be confiscated: Rochemore had the vessel of the Israelite and her cargo seized. Kerlerrec sent soldiers to drive away the guard put on board the vessel, and had her restored to the Jew. Imagining he had gone too far to stop there, he had Belot, Rochemore's secretary, and Marigny de Mandeville, de Lahoupe, Bossu and some other officers, whom he suspected to have joined the ordonnateur's party, arrested, and a few days after shipped them for France. He entrusted Grandmaison, an officer who having obtained a furlough had taken his passage in the vessel, on board of which these persons were placed, with his despatches for the minister, containing the reasons which, in his opinion, justified this violent measure.

As the vessel approached the coast of France, she was driven by a storm on that of Spain and entered the port of St. Sebastian. Grandmaison, according to Kerlerrec's instructions, went to deposit the despatches in the hands of the consul of France. Belot and his companions in misfortune accompanied the messenger to the consulate. The despatches being delivered were placed on a table, from which it is supposed they were purloined by one of the consul's visitors, while he was attending on the others, whose attention had been drawn to some fine engravings on the walls of the apartment.

On their arrival in Paris, Belot and his associates filled the court with their complaints of Kerlerrec's arbitrary proceedings. He was universally blamed.

During the summer, the most rapid success atten-

ded the British forces in Canada. They possessed themselves of Ticonderoga on the 22d of July. of Crown point, in the beginning of August, of Niagara on the 24th, and of Quebec on the eighteenth of September.

In the following year. they found themselves masters of all Canada, by the reduction of Montreal.

On the eleventh of August, Ferdinand the sixth of Spain died, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, without issue. He was succeeded by Charles the third, his brother, then king of Naples, the third son of Philip the fifth, who wielded the Spanish sceptre.

George the second of Great Britain ended his life, at the advanced age of seventy-seven years; on the twenty-fifth of October; he was succeeded by George the third, his grandson.

On the fall of Canada, a number of the colonists, unwilling to live under their conquerors, sought the warm clime over which the spotless banner still waved; most of them settled in the neighbourhood of the Acadians. Others of a more roving disposition crossed the lakes that separate the right bank of the Mississippi from the western prairies and began the settlements of Attakapas, Opelousas and Avoyelles.

The province was at this time inundated by a flood of paper money. The administration, for several years past, had paid in due bills all the supplies they had obtained, and they had been suffered to accumulate to an immense amount. A consequent depreciation had left them almost without any value. This had been occasioned, in a great degree, by a belief that the officers who had put these securities afloat, had, at times, attended more to their own than to the public interest, and that the French government, on the discovery of this, would not perhaps be found rea-

dy to indemnify the holders against the misconduct of its agents. With a view, however, to prepare the way for the redemption of the paper, the colonial treasurer was directed to receive all that might be presented, and to give in its stead certificates, in order that the extent of the evil being known, the remedy might be applied.

The disastrous situation of the marine of France precluding the hope of recovering any part of her lost territory, in America, the Duke of Choiseul, who, without the title, exercised the functions of prime minister, made an attempt at negociation with Great Britain. The conferences began on the twenty-eighth of March, but were closed soon after without success. Disappointed in this quarter, he formed the plan of joining the marine of Spain to that of France, and this was the end of the family compact, which was signed at Paris, on the fifteenth of August.

The avowed object of this arrangement was to give permanence and inviolability to the obligations resulting from the friendship and consanguinity of the sovereigns of France and Spain, and to rear up a solemn monument of the reciprocal interest which was the object of their wishes, and insure the continuance of the prosperity of their royal family.

They agree to consider, in future, any power at war with either of them, as a common enemy, they reciprocally guarantee to each other his respective dominions, in every part of the world; but, it is expressly stated that this guarantee is to have no other object, than the respective dominions of each crown, as they may exist at the first period of peace, with the other powers.

A like guarantee is to be extended to the King of the two Sicilies and the Duke of Parma, on their respective accession to the compact.

Although the mutual guarantee is to be supported with all the forces of the parties, they stipulate that the first succour to be furnished is to consist of a given number of ships, horse and foot.

The wars, which the French king may be engaged in, in consequence of his engagements, at the treaty of Westphalia, or his alliances with German princes, are exempted from the compact, unless a maritime power takes part in them, or his dominions are attacked.

The stipulated succour is to be considered as the minimum of what the required party is bound to do; and it is the understanding of the parties, that on a declaration of war against either, it is to be considered as common to the other. They shall jointly exert all their means: and arrangements will be made relative to a common plan and the respective efforts of the parties, according to circumstances.

No proposition of peace from the common enemy shall be listened to, without the joint consent of each party, who in peace and in war, shall consider the interest of the other as his own: all losses and advantages are to be compensated and the two parties are to act, as if they formed but one.

The king of Spain stipulates for that of the two Sicilies and engages to procure his accession to the compact.

The *droit d'aubaine* is abolished, in favour of the subjects of the parties, and they are to enjoy the advantages and immunities of national subjects.

The powers, with whom either party may make a treaty, shall be informed that these advantages and immunities are not to be extended to others.

At the close of the year, Rochmore went over to France. His conduct was approved by the minister,

and orders were sent to Kerlerec, on the following year, to return and give an account of his: Foucault was sent to succeed Rochmore.

Early the next year, the sovereigns of Great Britain and Spain published formal declarations of war against each other. The success of the British arms, in the West Indies, were as rapid and brilliant, as they had been in Canada, in 1759. Martinico, Grenada, St. Lucia and all the other Caribee islands were conquered from France, and the city of Havana from Spain.

On the third of November, a secret treaty was signed at Paris, between the French and Spanish king, by which the former ceded to the latter the part of the province of Louisiana, which lies on the western side of the Mississippi, with the city of New Orleans and the island on which it stands.

The war between Great Britain, France and Spain was terminated by the treaty of Paris, on the sixteenth of February of the following year.

*Marshal, Vergennes, Bossu, Archives, Gazettes.*



## CHAPTER XIV.

*Treaty of Paris.—East and West Florida.—Governor Johnston.—Pensacola.—Mobile and Fort Toulouse.—Indian allies of the French.—d'Abadie.—Major Loftus.—Baton Rouge.—Natchez.—Feliciana.—Manshac.—Petit Manshac.—The king's letter.—Consternation of the colonists.—General meeting.—Public securities.—Jean Milhet.—Sugar planters.—Dissentions in the British provinces.—Aubry.—Pirates in the West India seas.—Madame Desnoyers.—Ulloa.—Introduction of African negroes.—Census.—Fort Bute.—A Peruvian lady.—Spanish troops.—New forts.—Great cold.—General meeting.—Petition to the council.—Thoughts of resistance.—Aid asked from Governor Elliot.—Decree of the council.—Ulloa embarks.—The cables of the ship he was in cut.—General meeting.—A deputation to France.—Spanish troops destined for Louisiana arrive at the Havana.—Urissa.—Ill success of the deputation.—Edict relating to paper securities.—Alternate hopes and fears.—A Spanish fleet arrives at the Bahize.—O'Reilly's message.—Town meeting.—A deputation is sent.—The fears of the inhabitants subside.—The Spanish fleet reaches New Orleans.—O'Reilly lands and takes possession.*

BY the treaty of Paris, the king of France renounced his pretensions to Nova Scotia or Acadie, and guaranteed the whole of it, with its dependencies, to the king of Great Britain; to whom he ceded and guaranteed in full right Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton and all the other islands and coasts, in the river and gulf of St. Lawrence.

The limits, between the French and British possessions in North America, are fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville; and from thence by a line in the middle of that stream and lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea.

The king of France cedes to that of Great Britain the river and port of Mobile, and every thing possessed by him on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans and the island on which it stands.

The navigation of the Mississippi is declared free to the subjects of either sovereign, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea; and it is expressly stipulated that vessels belonging to subjects of either, shall not be stopped, visited, or subject to any duty.

The British king promises to allow the inhabitants of Canada, the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, and to give the most precise and effective orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may exercise their religion, according to its rites, in as much as is permitted by the laws of Great Britain.

Eighteen months are allowed to the inhabitants to sell their property to British subjects, and withdraw wherever they please.

The same rights are granted to the inhabitants of the ceded part of Louisiana.

The king of Spain cedes to that of Great Britain the province of Florida with the fort of St. Augustine and the bay of Pensacola, as well as all the country he possesses on the continent of North America, to the east and southeast of the river Mississippi.

We have seen that all the part of Louisiana, not ceded to Great Britain, had already been yielded to

Spain: so that France did not retain one inch of ground in North America.

The conquered islands were restored to France and Spain.

The island of Grenada and its dependencies were ceded by the king of France to that of Great Britain.

The islands called neutrals were divided, but not equally; those of St. Vincent, Dominica and Tobago, being yielded to Great Britain, and that of St. Lucia to France.

Clement the thirteenth having expelled the Jesuits from the dominions of the kings of France, Spain and Naples, these monks were now driven from Louisiana, and in the month of July their property, near New Orleans, was taken into the king's hands and sold, under a decree of the superior council. It produced about one hundred and eighty thousand dollars.

On the seventh of October, 1763, the king of Great Britain divided his acquisitions in North America into three distinct governments; those of Quebec, and East and West Florida.

All the coast from the river St. John to Hudson's streights, with the islands of Anticosti and Madeleine, and all other small islands on that coast, were put under the care and inspection of the government of New Foundland.

The islands of St. John, Cape Breton, with the lesser ones adjacent thereto, were annexed to the province of Nova Scotia.

The land between the rivers St. Mary and Altamaha was annexed to the province of Georgia.

The part of the territory acquired from Spain, adjoining Louisiana, was erected into a separate province, called West Florida: it was bounded on the south by the gulf of Mexico, including all islands within six leagues of the sea coast from the river Apa-

lachicola to lake Pontchartrain—on the west by that lake, lake Maurepas and the river Mississippi—on the north, by a line drawn due east from a point in the middle of that river, in the thirty-first degree of northern latitude to the river Apalachicola or Catahouche, and to the east by that river.

In the mean while, George Johnston, a captain in the royal navy, appointed governor of the province of West Florida, arrived at Pensacola with major Loftus, who was to command at the Illinois. They were accompanied by a considerable number of highlanders from New York and Charleston. Detachments of these were sent to take possession of Fort Conde, Fort Toulouse, Baton Rouge and the Natchez.

Fort Conde was now called Fort Charlotte, in compliment to the young queen of Great Britain.

Most of the Indians, in alliance with the French, followed the white banner to New Orleans, on its being lowered in the forts of the ceded territory; lands were allotted to them on the western side of the Mississippi.

In the fall, Kerlerrec was recalled; and the chief magistracy of the province vested in d'Abadie, under the title of director-general. The military force was reduced to three hundred men, divided into six companies, under the orders of Aubry, as senior captain.

Kerlerrec's conduct was highly disapproved of in France: he was confined, for some time, in the Bastille, and died of grief shortly after his release.

Major Loftus, who commanded the twenty-second regiment, came from Pensacola to New Orleans, on his way to the Illinois, early in 1764. He proceeded up the river, on the 27th of February, with a detachment of the thirty-fourth, who had been employed in reconnoitring the river Iberville. His whole force,

consisting of about four hundred men, was embarked in ten batteaux of from sixteen to twenty oars each and two canoes. They reached the heights now called Fort Adams, then La roche a Davion, in three weeks.

In the morning of the twentieth of March, the two canoes being a little a head of the major's batteau, and close to the right bank, which was covered with brush, a volley was fired on them and three privates were killed and one wounded in the first canoe and one sergeant and two privates wounded and two privates killed in the second. The boats going back with the stream, and there being no possibility of landing on that side, the river having overflowed its banks, the major ordered his small fleet on the opposite shore, and as he approached, received a second volley. Both sides of the river appearing strongly guarded by the Indians and the stream narrow, he determined on descending the river and taking post for the present at bayou Manshac. The mount, near which the party was fired on, was afterwards called Loftus's heights.

Having disembarked bayou Manshac and reconnoitred the ground, major Loftus thought it better to return to New Orleans, where finding a brig ready to sail for Pensacola, he took passage in her; his men floated down in their batteaux, to the Balize, except a captain and twenty men of the twenty-second regiment, whom he ordered to proceed by the lakes to Mobile.

As they were ready to start d'Abadie received information that sixty Indians of the Colapissa tribe from the western side of lake Pontchartrain were preparing to intercept the batteaux in the rigolets.

The captain represented to the French chief that major Loftus had departed fully suspecting that the French had prevailed on the Indians to prevent

his ascent of the river to the Illinois, and an attack of the Indians, who were known to be in the interest of the French, would not fail to increase the suspicion. D'Abadie proposed to send an officer, with a detachment to escort the British. This was declined, and an interpreter, acquainted with the lurking places of the Indians, was sent forward to assure them the British wished to live in peace and friendship with them; and would treat them as brethren. The Captain and his men reached Mobile safely, on the fifth of April.

The Indians, who fired on the British force up the river, were parties of the Tunicas, Oumas, Chetimachas and Yazous.

On the twenty-third of March, the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, in Great Britain, represented to the king that it appeared from observations and surveys, made since the province of West Florida was in his possession, that there were considerable settlements on the left bank of the Mississippi, above the thirty-first degree of northern latitude, and recommended that the northern boundary of the province of West Florida should be a line drawn from the mouth of the river of the Yazous, running due west to the river Apalachicola. Accordingly, on the tenth of June, a new commission was issued to governor Johnston, extending thus the limits of his government.

During the summer, a large detachment occupied Fort Rosalie of Natchez.

In the mean while, British vessels began to visit the lower banks of the Mississippi—after passing New Orleans, they cast anchor, made fast to a tree above it, opposite the present suburb Lafayette, where the people of the city and neighbouring plantations

came to trade with them. The spot, at which they stopped on their way up the river, under the pretence of going to bayou Manshac and Baton Rouge, received the appellation of Little Manshac. The wants of the colony induced its chief to overlook and tolerate the illegal traffic—extremely advantageous to the colonists, whose honesty and good faith rendered it equally so to their visitors.

The colonists began now to be distressed by rumours from France of their approaching passage under the yoke of Spain. These fears were realized early in October, when official intelligence of the cession was received by d'Abadie, in a letter of his sovereign, bearing date the first of April preceding.

In this document, the king, after announcing the cession to the director general (copies of the treaty and its acceptance being inclosed) manifests his intention, that, on the receipt of the letter and its inclosures, whether it be delivered him by any Spanish officer, or brought by any French vessel, immediate possession should be delivered to the governor, or any other officer of the Catholic king, of the city of New Orleans and the rest of the ceded territory; it being the object of the cession that the country should in future belong to the latter sovereign, and be ruled and administered by his governor or chief officer, as being his, in full property and without reserve.

D'Abadie is accordingly instructed, on the arrival of the Spanish officers and troops, after having yielded possession, to withdraw with all the officers, soldiers and other persons, in the service of France, who may not be desirous of remaining, and afford them a passage to some of the king's dominions in Europe or the West Indies.

He is directed, immediately after the evacuation, to collect all papers, relative to the finances, and the administration of the province, and to return and give an account of his proceedings; delivering however, to the governor or other officer of the Spanish king, such papers, as may especially relate to the affairs of the colony, in regard to the land, the different posts and Indian affairs; taking receipts for his discharge. It is recommended to him to afford such information, relative to the concerns of the colony, as may enable the officers of Spain to administer its affairs to the satisfaction of both nations.

Duplicate inventories are ordered to be made by the director general, and a Spanish commissary, of all the artillery, goods, magazines, hospitals and vessels of the province; so that, after delivery, an appraisement may be made of such articles as may be kept by the Spanish king.

The hope is expressed and the king declares he expects it from the friendship of the monarch of Spain, that, for the advantage and tranquillity of the inhabitants, orders will be given to the governor and other officers, employed in Louisiana, that the regular and secular clergy, acting as curates or missionaries, may be allowed to continue the exercise of their functions and enjoy the rights, privileges and exemptions, granted to them by the royal charters, and that the inferior judges, as well as those of the superior council, may be allowed to continue to administer justice, according to the present laws, forms, and usages of the colony, that the inhabitants may be confirmed in their estates according to the grants of the former governors and commissaries ordonnateurs, and that such grants may be confirmed by the Catholic king, even, when they were not so by him. Finally, the king hopes the new sovereign will give to his subjects in



Louisiana such marks of his protection and favour, as they have heretofore experienced from the former, of which, nothing but the disasters of the war, could have prevented them from enjoying the full effect.

The director general is enjoined to cause the royal letter to be transcribed on the minutes of the superior council, that every one in the province may become acquainted with its contents, and recur thereto, in case of need.

This intelligence plunged the inhabitants in great consternation. They bewailed before their estrangement from their kindred and friends in the eastern part of the province; that they were now themselves transferred to a foreign potentate, filled their minds with the utmost sorrow.

The fond hope was however indulged that their united solicitations might avert the impending calamity. Every parish was accordingly invited to send its most notable planters, to a general meeting, in the city of New Orleans, in the beginning of the following year.

The council, according to its new organization, on the dismemberment of the province, was composed of d'Abadie, the director general, Foucault, the commissary ordonnateur, Aubry, the commandant of the troops, Delalande, Kernion, Delaunay, Lachaise, Lesassier, Laplace, councillors, Lafreniere, attorney general, and Garic, clerk.

The general meeting was attended by a vast number of the most respectable planters from every part of the province, and almost every person of note in New Orleans. The most prominent characters were Lafreniere, the attorney general, Doucet, a lawyer, who had lately come from France, St. Lette, Pin, Villere, the chevalier d'Arensbourg, Jean Milhet, the wealthiest merchant of New Orleans, Joseph Milhet his brother, St. Maxent, Lachaise, Marquis, Garic,

Mazent, Mazange, Poupet, Boisblanc, Grandmaison, Lalande. Lesassier, Braud, the kings printer, Kernion, Carrere and Desalles.

Latreniere addressed the meeting, in an animated speech, which he concluded by a proposition that the sovereign should be entreated to make such arrangements, with his catholic majesty, as might prevent Louisiana being severed from the parent stock, and that a person should be immediately sent to France to lay the petition of the inhabitants of the province, at the foot of the throne. Without a dissenting vote, the proposition was assented to, and with the like unanimity, Jean Milhet was selected for the important mission.

At this period, a number of families emigrated to Louisiana from the British provinces, principally from the banks of Roanoke river, in North Carolina, and settled above Baton Rouge: this was the beginning of the settlement, which was afterwards called the district of Feliciana.

Till now the post of the Illinois remained in the possession of the French, and St. Ange, the commandant, continued to exercise his authority over it. A proclamation of General Gage, the commander in chief of the forces of the king of Great Britain in North America, issued at New York the thirteenth of December, was brought to the post early in the new year, by captain Sterling, who was instructed to receive the oath of allegiance and fidelity of the inhabitants, to their new sovereign.

By this proclamation they were informed that the taking possession of their country by the king's forces, although delayed, had been determined on; and the sovereign had given the most precise and effective orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects of the Illinois should be allowed the exercise of religious

worship, according to the rites of their church, in the same manner as the Canadians—that he had agreed that the French inhabitants and others, who had been subjects of the most christian king, might retire in full safety and proceed, where they pleased; even to New Orleans, or other parts of Louisiana, although the Spaniards might take possession of it; that they might sell their estates to the king's subjects and transport themselves and their effects, without any other restraint, but that which might result from civil or criminal process. The rights and immunities of British subjects were promised to those who might chuse to stay, but they were required to take an oath of allegiance and fidelity.

The commander in chief recommended to the people to demean themselves as loyal and faithful subjects, by a prudent conduct to avoid all causes of complaint, and to act in concert with the royal forces on their arrival, so that possession might be taken of every settlement, and good order preserved in the country.

Civil government, being established, under the authority of Great Britain, a few months after in the post, St. Ange, the French commandant there, crossed the Mississippi, with a number of his countrymen, who were desirous to follow the white flag, and laid the foundation of the town of St. Louis, which with that of St. Genevieve, was the first settlements of the country, now known as the state of Missouri.

The province laboured under great difficulties, on account of a flood of depreciated paper, which, inundating it, annihilated its industry, commerce and agriculture. So sanguine were the inhabitants of their appeal to the throne, that they instructed their emissary, after having accomplished the principal object of his mission, to solicit relief in this respect.

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Destrehan, the king's treasurer, and a number of other planters, had been induced by the success of Dubreuil, in manufacturing sugar, to erect mills; most of these establishments were below New Orleans and on the same side of the river. Hitherto, the sugar made in Louisiana had been all consumed in the province. This year, a ship was laden for France with this article. It had been so inartificially manufactured, that it leaked out of the hogsheads, and the ship was so lightened by this accident, that she was very near upsetting.

Milhet saw, at Paris, Bienville, who having spent the most and best years of his life in Louisiana, and having long presided over its concerns, still felt much interest in its prosperity. He had bewailed its dismemberment, and grieved to see the last remnant of it transferred to Spain: he was then in his eighty-seventh year, having first landed in Louisiana in his twentieth. He attended Milhet to the Duke de Choiseuil. This nobleman received the representative of the people of Louisiana, with marked civility: but, having been the prime mover of the measures which terminated in the cession, he felt more inclination to thwart, than to promote, his views; he artfully prevented Milhet's access to the king, and the mission entirely failed.

The British this year established a post at bayou Manshac, the southwesternmost point of their possessions in North America. A number of traders had opened stores in the neighbourhood, from which the planters on the right bank of the Mississippi obtained their supplies, and where they found a sure sale for every thing they could raise. A part of the thirty-fourth regiment was sent to garrison the post: but, in the summer, the appearance of the weather, indu-

cing the apprehension it might fall a victim to disease, it was removed beyond Natchez.

While the people of Louisiana were thus distressed by the thought of being severed from the dominions of France, those dissensions prevailed in the British provinces on the Atlantic, which about ten years after, broke asunder the political ties which united them to the mother country. On the twenty-fifth of October, commissioners from the assemblies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and South Carolina, met in the city of New York. They published a declaration of the rights and grievances of the colonists—asserted their exclusive right to tax themselves, and to the trial by jury, unequivocally expressing the attachment of the colonists to the mother country. They recommended to the several colonies to appoint special agents, with instructions to unite their utmost endeavours, in soliciting a redress of grievances.

The fall was extremely sickly. D'Abadie died, and the supreme command of the province devolved to Aubry, the senior military officer.

The West India seas were at this time greatly infested by pirates; and on the eleventh of March 1766, the sensibility of the inhabitants of New Orleans was much excited on the arrival of the sloop *Fortune*, of that port, which on her return picked up, near the island of Cuba, a small boat, in which madam Desnoyers, a lady of St. Domingo, had been committed to the mercy of the waves, with a child, a sucking babe, and a negro woman, by a pirate, who had captured a vessel (in which she was going from the Spanish to the French part of St. Domingo,) and had murdered her husband. They had been seven days in the boat when they were taken up. She was received, with

great cordiality, and after she had spent a few months in New Orleans, the means were furnished her of returning to her friends.

Although Jean Milhet had informed his countrymen of the ill success of his mission, they still flattered themselves with the delusive hope that the cession might be rescinded. Upwards of two years had now elapsed, since the king had directed d'Abadie to surrender the province to any officer who should come to take possession of it for the king of Spain, and that monarch did not appear to have taken any measure to obtain it. These fond hopes vanished, in the summer, by intelligence from Havana, that Don Antonio de Ulloa, the officer appointed by Charles the third to the government of Louisiana, had arrived in that city: from whence, on the tenth of July, he addressed a letter to the superior council of the province, apprising them, that having been honored with the king's command to receive possession of the colony, he would soon be with them for this purpose, and expressing his hope that his mission might afford him a favourable opportunity, of rendering them and the other inhabitants any service they might require.

Don Antonio was known in the republic of letters, as an able mathematician, who had accompanied La Condamine, Bourguet and Godin, for the purpose of determining the figure of the earth, under the equator.

He landed at New Orleans, in the fall, with two companies of infantry, under the orders of Piernas. He was received with dumb respect, and declined exhibiting his powers, intimating he wished to delay receiving possession of the country, until such number of the Spanish forces arrived, as would authorise the departure of those of France.

In December, the British re-occupied the post at bayou Manshac. A small stockade fort was built by

a party of the twenty-first regiment ; it was called Fort Bute. The trade, carried on in this neighbourhood, at Baton Rouge and Natchez, increased considerably ; the French supplied themselves with goods at those places, and British vessels were almost continually anchored, or fastened to the trees, a little above New Orleans. Guinea negroes were now introduced by these vessels, or brought from Pensacola through lakes Pontchartrain to bayou Manshac and Baton Rouge. The facility, thus afforded to French planters to supply themselves with slaves, was the origin of the fortunes of many of them.

Ulloa visited the several posts of the province, and spent a considerable time in Natchitoches.

According to a census of the inhabitants of the province which was taken this year, it appears it had one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three men, fit to bear arms ; one thousand and forty-four marriageable women ; one thousand three hundred and seventy five boys, and one thousand two hundred and forty four girls ; in all, five thousand five hundred and fifty-six white individuals. The blacks were nearly as numerous.

This year, the province was visited by a disease, not dissimilar to that now known as the yellow fever. It was severely felt in West Florida, where a number of emigrants had lately arrived. Sixteen families of French protestants, transported at the expense of the British government on the river Escambia, consisting of sixty-four persons, were almost entirely swept away by the deleterious sickness.

Ulloa, in the following year, went to the Balize to await the arrival of a Peruvian lady, the marchioness of Abrado, who landed and whom he married, soon after. He was then in the fifty-first year of his age.

Soon after his return to New Orleans, he received

a considerable reinforcement of troops from the Havana, and although again pressed to publish his commission and take formal possession of the country, he persisted in delaying this.

He sent two companies to build a fort, on the left bank of the Mississippi, below bayou Manshac, within four hundred yards of Fort Bute; two other companies were sent on the same service, on the opposite side, a little below Natchez, and two others on the left side of Red river, on an eminence between Black river and the Mississippi. A stronger detachment was sent to the Illinois; but its commanding officer was instructed not to interfere with the civil concerns of the inhabitants, who continued under the orders of St. Ange, the British commandant having died.

General Phineas Lyman, contemplating a large establishment on the Ohio, applied to parliament, for an extensive grant of land. He enforced the propriety of the measure by the argument that there could be but little danger of the colonies becoming independent, if confined to agricultural pursuits, and the inhabitants dispersed over the country. "A period" said he, "will no doubt arrive, when North America will no longer acknowledge a dependence on any part of Europe; but it seems to be so remote, as not to be at present an object of rational policy or human prevention, and it will be made still more so, by opening new schemes of agriculture, and widening the space which the colonists must first occupy.

Jean Milhet now returned from France; his protracted absence had kept the hopes of his countrymen alive, and when his presence among them, put an end to every expectation from his mission, they became exasperated, and began to manifest their ill disposition towards Ulloa, who, although he continued to decline an official recognition, had gained a



powerful influence over Aubry, which was exercised to the injury of some of the colonists.

On the seventeenth and eighteenth of January, 1768, the most intense cold, of which there is any remembrance, was felt in Louisiana. The river was frozen before New Orleans for several yards, on both sides. The orange trees were destroyed throughout the province.

Partial meetings were had in the city and at the German coast. In the latter place, a perfect unanimity prevailed. Father Barnabé, a capuchin missionary, who was curate of that parish, took an active part with the most influential of his flock. At last, the people of the province were invited to a general meeting at New Orleans, to which every parish sent its wealthiest planters. Lafreniere was again the principal speaker, and was supported by Jean Milhet, Joseph Milhet, his brother, and Doucet, a lawyer, lately arrived from France. The proceedings terminated by the subscription of a petition to the superior council to order Ulloa and the principal officers of the Spanish troops away. It was circulated through the province, and received five hundred and fifty respectable signatures. The printing of it was authorised by the ordonnateur, and it was circulated in every parish.

The French, as well as the few Spaniards who had come to the province, blamed the obsequiousness of Aubry towards Ulloa. They believed that the former's instructions might be, occasionally to consult the latter, but they thought that nothing could authorise the subserviency of the French chief to a Spanish officer, who refused to avow the authority with which he was clothed.

Lafreniere having introduced the petition of the inhabitants to the council, this tribunal which was

greatly under the influence of Foucault, the ordonnateur, threatened Ulloa with a prosecution, as a disturber of the peace of the province. He alleged that Aubry had given him privately possession of the country, at the Balize. As none believed that a clandestine act, even, if it took place, could authorise any assumption of powers, his declaration was considered as a gross artifice. Aubry, who corroborated Ulloa's assertion, was also disbelieved. He fell into contempt, and Ulloa's opposers were emboldened.

The colonists, mistaking their wishes for their belief, indulged the hope that, as the taking possession, by the officers of Spain was thus protracted, the catholic king must have renounced the acquisition of the province. Others viewed the cession, as a measure feigned for state purposes. Yielding to these delusions, they viewed Ulloa with a jealous eye, as a personage, who abused the reasons of state, which they supposed to be the cause of his coming among them. Conjectures drawn from the British prints and from conversation with individuals of that nation, who had come to New Orleans, on their way to Manshac, Baton Rouge and Natchez, strengthened their belief. The public agitation for a while subsided, but was at last roused, by a rumour, that a Spanish armament, destined for Louisiana, had arrived at the Havana.

Frantic and distracted by these alternate impressions of hope and fear, some of the popular leaders flattered themselves, with the possibility of resistance, and despatched a messenger to Governor Elliot, who had succeeded Johnson at Pensacola, to ascertain whether the support of the government of West Florida could be obtained. The governor declared himself unwilling to aid his neighbours, in an opposition to a king in amity with his own. It was said he transmitted the message he had received to Aubry, who

delivered it to Ulloa, and that the latter carried it to Madrid.

Disappointed at this attempt, the leaders pressed the consideration of the petition of the inhabitants, which the council had delayed to act upon.

It had been subscribed by five hundred and sixty of the most respectable inhabitants. Lafreniere supported it by an eloquent speech, in which he adverted to the successful opposition of the British American provinces to the stamp act, and drew the attention of the council to the noble conduct of the people of Burgundy, in 1526, when summoned by Launoy, the vice roy of Naples, to recognize as their sovereign, the emperor Charles the fifth, to whom Francis the second had ceded that province, by the treaty of Madrid. The states and courts of justice, being convened to deliberate on the emperor's message, unanimously answered that the province was a part of the French monarchy, and the king had not the power of alienating it. The nobles resolutely declared, that if the king abandoned them, they would resort to arms, and the last drop of their blood would be spilt in defence of their country.

At last, on the 29th of October, it was taken up, and after some debate, the council (notwithstanding the opposition and protest of Aubry) ordered Ulloa to produce his powers from the king of Spain, if he had any, that they might be recorded on its minutes, and published through the province, or depart therefrom, within one month. To give weight to the requisition of the council, about six hundred of the inhabitants of the city and German coast embodied themselves.

Ulloa took the last of the alternatives proposed to him, and was soon ready to depart; a vessel of the king of Spain, that had lately arrived afforded him an opportunity, which he improved.

On the evening of one of the first days of November, he went on board of the king's vessel, intending to sail early in the morning. The torch of hymen had been lighted in the house of a wealthy merchant in the city; the dance was protracted till the morning: a number of the planters, who had come to the city, had joined the festive banquet. Wine had been sent to others, whose admission the great number of the guests in the house had prevented from attending. At dawn, all parties united, and elated by the nightly orgie, marched to the levee, hallooing and singing. Boats were procured: no apprehension being entertained on board, the vessel was approached, and her cables cut asunder. It does not appear any attempt was made to punish the insult. The vessel was at the moment of departure and floated away.

A few days after, a general meeting of deputies from every parish, was convened at New Orleans, in which it was determined to make a second application, to avert, if possible, the execution of the treaty of cession. This service was confided to St. Lette, a merchant of Natchitoches, and Lesassier, a member of the superior council.

Ulloa proceeded to Havana, where he immediately embarked for Cadiz, and landed after a passage of forty days.

The Chevalier Dessales, who sailed with him from New Orleans, saw at Havana Urissa, the former consul of Spain at Bourdeaux, who having been appointed Intendant of Louisiana, was on his way with eight hundred soldiers. He had stopped at Havana, to take in one million of dollars for the king's service, in his new acquisition: hearing of Ulloa's ill success, he returned to Europe.

In December, the British evacuated and demolished Fort Bute.

The passage of the deputies of the people of Louisiana was not so expeditious as that of Ulloa. They were three months on the water. The complaint of the king of Spain had reached the court, long before their arrival at Paris. Bienville, on whose aid and services they much relied, was now dead, and the Duke of Choiseuil still in power. St. Lette had been a schoolmate of his. The Duke received his former play fellow with open arms, but frowned on the deputy and his colleague. He told them their application was too tardy, as the king of Spain had directed such a force to be sent to New Orleans, as would put down any opposition that could be made. He gave St. Lette a very lucrative office in the East Indies, and Lesassier returned home.

The deputies had been instructed to renew the representation, which Milhet had made in regard to the depreciated paper currency, which inundated the province. They obtained an arrest of the king's council of the twenty-third of March, which is believed to be the last act of the French government concerning Louisiana.

It provided that the bills, emitted by the colonial government, or the receipts for so much of them, as according to a former order had been left with the treasurer, should be reduced to three-fifths of their nominal value.

The holders of these bills or receipts were directed to bring them, before the first of September following, to Marignier, who was authorised to give therefor, (after a deduction of two-fifths) a certificate bearing interest at five per cent.

Provision was made for cases, in which there had been a judicial deposit.

Shortly after the return of Lesassier, the distress, which the accounts he brought excited, was relieved

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by letters from Bordeaux, intimating that the province was to continue a colony of France.

But on the twenty third of July, intelligence reached New Orleans of the arrival at the Balize of a Spanish frigate, with twenty-eight transports, having four thousand five hundred soldiers on board, and a large supply of arms and ammunition. This threw the town into great consternation; resistance was spoken of, and messengers were despatched up the coast.

On the next day, an express, with a message to Aubry, from Don Alexander O'Reilly, the commander of the Spanish forces, landed on the levee.

The inhabitants of the city, on the invitation of Aubry, met him in the church, and he read to them the message. They thus learned that the general was sent by his sovereign to take possession of the colony; but not to distress the inhabitants; that, as soon as he had obtained possession, he would publish the remaining part of the orders of his royal master; but, should any attempt be made to oppose his landing, he was determined not to depart, till he had put his majesty's commands in complete execution.

The inhabitants immediately came to a resolution to chuse three gentlemen, to wait in their behalf on the general, and inform him that the people of Louisiana were determined to abandon the colony, and had no other favour to ask from him, but that he would allow them two years, to remove themselves and their effects.

The choice of the meeting fell on Grandmaison, the town major, Lafreniere, the attorney general, and Mazent, formerly a captain in the colonial troops, now a planter of considerable wealth.

O'Reilly received them with great politeness, and assured them he would cheerfully comply with any reasonable request of the colonists; that he had their

interest much at heart, and nothing on his part should be wanting to promote it. He added all past transactions would be buried in oblivion, and all who had offended should be forgiven, and said every thing, which he imagined would flatter the minds of the people.

In the mean while, the planters of the German, and some of the Acadian, coast had taken arms, and a considerable number of them, headed by Villere, marched down to the city.

The deputation reached New Orleans on the first of August, and made public the kind reception O'Reilly had given them, and the fair promises he had made. This considerably quieted the minds of the inhabitants, and many, who had determined on an immediate removal from the province, now resolved to return and gather their crops.

A fortnight elapsed before the armament reached the city. It cast anchor before it, on the sixteenth; the inhabitants flocked to the levee on the following day, but the landing did not take place till the eighteenth.

At three o'clock, in the afternoon of that day, the Spaniards disembarked, and O'Reilly led his men to the public square, before the church, in the middle of the city, where Aubry, at the head of the troops of France received him; the white banner flying at the top of a high mast, in the middle of the square. It was now slowly lowered, while that of Spain was hoisted, and as they met at half mast, they were saluted by a *feu-de-joie* from the troops of both nations. The French flag being lowered and the Spanish flying on the top of the mast, O'Reilly, attended by Aubry, and followed by the officers of both nations, who were not under arms, perambulated the square, in token of his being in possession of the colony. His suite

then followed him to the church, where a solemn *Te Deum* was chaunted, and the benediction of the host given.

Thus ended, about seventy one years after the arrival of Iberville, the government of France in Louisiana: and thus was that nation, about one hundred and sixty years, after Champlain laid the foundation of Quebec, the oldest town of French origin in North America, left without an inch of ground in that part of the continent.

The exports of the province, during the last year of its subjection to France, were as follows:—

In Indigo	\$100,000
“ Deer skins,	80,000
“ Lumber,	50,000
“ Naval stores,	12,000
“ Rice, peas and beans,	4,000
“ Tallow,	4,000
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	\$250,000

An interlope trade, with the Spanish colonies, took away goods worth.	60,000
The colonial treasury gave bills on government in France, for	360,000
So that the province afforded means of remittance for	<hr/>
	\$670,000

Few merchant vessels came from France; but the island of Hispaniola carried on a brisk trade with New Orleans, and some vessels came from Martinico. King's vessels brought whatever was necessary for the troops and goods for the Indian trade.

The indigo of Louisiana was greatly inferior to that of Hispaniola; the planters being quite unskilful



and inattentive in the manufacture of it: that of sugar had been abandoned, but some planters near New Orleans raised a few canes for the market.

*Vergennes, Hutchins, Archives, Gazettes.*

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